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BISHOP JEWEL.

Spite of Nabuchodonosor's beard, and maugre his heart, the captive, thrall, and miserable Jewes must come home againe, and have their Citie and Temple builded up againe by Zorobabel, Esdras and Nehemias: and the whole kingdom of Babylon must go to ruine, and be taken of strangers, the Persians and Medes—So shall the dispersed English flocke of Christ be brought againe into their former estate, or to a better, I trust in the Lord God, than it was in innocent King Edwards daies. JOHN ROGERS, *the Martyr; written by him in the year* 1555.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Life of Bishop Jewel is printed intire from a small octavo volume intitled, "The Apology of the Church of England; and an Epistle to one Seignior Scipio a Venetian gentleman, concerning the Council of Trent; written both in Latin, by the right reverend Father in God, John Jewel Lord Bishop of Salisbury, made English by a Person of Quality: To which is added the Life of the said Bishop, collected and written by the same hand. London, printed by T. H. for Richard Chiswell, at the Rose and Crown in St. Paul's Church-Yard. 1685."—This title will sufficiently explain the opening, and the date will illustrate several other parts of the insuing Preface: which displays that earnest zeal against Non-conformists, as well as Papists, by which, from the memory of recent evils, and the perilous state of the times, the reigns of Charles the second, and James the second were distinguished.

THE

PREFACE

TO THE

READER.

THE ensuing Discourses are all designed for the good and service of the Religion by law established; and two of them are so excellently adapted to that end by their author, that if I have not spoiled them by an ill version, there can be no doubt made, but they will be of great use. Of the third I beg leave to give somewhat a larger account, because I am a little more concerned in it.

The Life I have collected, 1. from Mr. Humfrey's, who wrote Bishop Jewel's Life at large in quarto. 2. The English life put before his works which was penned about the year 1609. 3. Mr. Fuller's Church History. 4. Dr. Heylyn's Ecclesia Anglicana restaurata, and others who wrote any thing that related to those times, and fell into my hands in that short time I had to finish it in. Mr. Humfrey's alone would have been sufficient, if he had observed an exact method in writing this life; or been altogether free from affections. But tho he tells us Bishop Jewel kept a Diary of his Life, and that he had assistance from Dr. Parkhurst Bishop of Norwich, Ægidius Lawrence, Mr. John Jewel the Bishops brother, and one Mr.

John

John Garbrande and others; and printed his piece in the year 1573. which was not much above two years after the death of Bishop Jewel, yet he has not observed any exact order or method in the History of his Life: and he no where tells us in what year he was made a fellow, or received orders; nor from whom, only he tells us Mr. Harding took his orders at the same time. Nor has he acquainted us when Mr. Harding published his first or second Antapologies, nor when the Bishop went to Padua, nor how long he staid there, nor who were his partners in his visitation for the Queen. Nor has he marked almost any of the principal actions of his life when they were done; and tho he mentions a Sermon at Paul's Cross, and a conference with the Dissenters not long before his death, yet he neither tells us the time or occasion of either of them; but instead of these, runs out into discourses against Harding and others of that perswasion, which were nothing, or very little to his purpose.

The English life before his works, is only an extract out of Mr. Humfrey's Latin work, but yet was helpful to me in many particulars, being done by a wise man[1], and who doth not seem to have been biassed as the former was; who makes it his business to represent both the Church of England and Bishop Jewel as wonderous friends to the

[1] *Done by a wise man.*] The writer was Daniel Featley. "If any desire to be more familiarly acquainted with Jewel, let him read the story of his life at large in Doctor Humfrey, or at least the abridgment thereof, which I drew in the year of our Lord 1611, being then student in Corpus Christi College, at the command of Archbishop Bancroft; which as soon as it was sent up, was suddenly printed, and prefixed to Jewel's works." Fuller's Abel redivivus. p. 313. edit. 1651.

Churches

Churches of Switzerland, that is, to the Calvinists, because he, good man, was one himself[z], tho not so mad as those that followed; and upon this very account I do suspect he has left out many things that he might have related, and would have afforded great light to the Church History of those times, and especially to Bishop Jewel's Life.

Fuller is barren in his relations of those times, the Bishop lived after his consecration, tho he afforded me some good helps: Dr. Burnett has continued his history but a little way in Queen Elizabeths time; and Dr. Heylyn ended his with the beginning of the year 1566. which was about five years before the death of Bishop Jewel: and I have neither time nor leisure, nor interest to search the Records of those times, and compare the editions of books and other things by which this life might have been put into a better method, as to the timing of things.

And besides all this, it were perhaps indecent to put a long life before two such small tractates as I am to entertain my reader with; but yet I hope the Life, such as it is, will give some light to the

[z] *Was one himself.*] Humfrey, it is certain, though President of a College, and Regius Professor of Divinity, was, at least till his later years, a very zealous Puritan; and was more than once in some trouble on that account. Indeed, what wonder, that he was unmoved by the arguments and the threats of theologians, when his flinty breast could withstand the condescending and courtly flatteries of a Virgin Queen? In the year 1566 Elizabeth visited Oxford; and she, in return to the dutiful reception given to her upon her arrival, offering her hand to kiss, to the Vice-Chancellor, Doctors and Masters, while Humfrey was doing that compliment, the Queen said, "Dr. Humfrey methinks *this Gown and Habit becomes you very well:* and I marvel you are so straight-laced in this point—but I come not now to chide." Wood's *Annals.* Vol. II. p. 156. edit. 1796.

Discourses,

Discourses, and raise a venerable idea of this good Bishop in the readers mind; which were the things I chiefly aimed at in the writing of it.

As to the pieces, the first of these, the Apology, was written in Latin in the beginning of the year 1562, or the latter end of the foregoing year, and was occasioned by Pope Pius the Fourth, his calling the Council of Trent, and sending his Nuncio Martiningo to invite the Queen to it; and the interposition of most of the greatest Princes of Christendom, who wrote to the Queen to entertain the Nuncio and submit to the Council. Whereupon it was thought but reasonable to give the world an account of what we had done in the preceding parliament, and the reasons of it, and to retort the many accusations brought against our Church by the Papists. And therefore it was but reasonable that it should be in Latin, that being the most common language, and understood by the learned men of all nations; and accordingly it found entertainment in all places, and was read in them: which is more perhaps than can be said of any other book written for our Church since the Reformation.

Mr. Harding had a great quarrel against it, because it was not inscribed neither to the Pope nor to the Council. But there being no reason to make them our judges, and they having no right to claim that authority over us, it had been a great oversight to have made any such inscription, which would have been a kind of making them what they had neither right nor reason to expect to be, and from whom we could expect no justice.

The natives had without doubt a great desire to see what was in this book which then made so great a noise in the world; and the learned men being then otherwise imployed, a lady who was one of the

the most learned of the age, undertook that task, and made a very faithful and perhaps elegant version of it for the time when it was made.

She was then wife to Sir Nicholas Bacon Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, second daughter to Sir Anthony Cooke Knight, one of the tutors to King Edward the Sixth, who being an excellent scholar, had taken care to improve his five daughters (Lloyd's State-worthies, p. 374) so much in learning, that they became the wonders of the age, and were sought in marriage by great men, more for their natural and acquired endowments and beauty, than for their portions, tho they did not want that neither. Mildred the eldest married William Cecil Lord Treasurer of England; Anne the second was this Lady Bacon; Katherine the third married Sir Henry Killegrew; Elizabeth the fourth married Sir Thomas Hobby; the fifth whose name is lost, married Sir Ralph Rowlet, all three knights and men of great estates and esteem.

This version was made soon after the piece was first printed, tho I cannot tell precisely in what year[3], for Mr. Humfrey tells us Mr. Harding answered the English book, and it is so well done, that I profess I could never have made so good a version as I have, if I had not been assisted by it; but then our language is so much refined and exalted since that time (which is above an hundred

[3] *In what year.*] It was sent to Parker Abp. of Canterbury in *manuscript;* and after a diligent revisal by him, and by Bishop Jewel, he returned it *printed*, to the Translator, with a very handsome introductory Letter, in the year 1564. See Strype's *Parker.* p. 178, 179.

But, if we may believe Bishop Tanner, and Mr. Strype, there had been already published another Translation in 4to. in the year 1562. See Tanner's *Bibliotheca Britan. Hibern.* p. 427. Strype's *Parker.* p. 179.

years,)

years,) that it was perhaps necessary to put it into a more modish dress, in order to recommend it to the reading of those who do not much admire excellent sense in a harsh and obsolete stile, and for this reason only have very many books of late been new turned; and they of France who put out the elegant Mons Version of the New Testament, give no other reason for it than this.

The epistle to Seignior Scipio was written soon after the Apology, and to a private Venetian gentleman in a more free and friendly way, as not being at all intended for the publick. It was first printed in English and Latin at the end of the Council of Trent. Who made that version I know not, but it is a very good one, and if I might have had so much liberty, I would only have altered a very few words in it, and so have re-printed it again. But not daring to take that liberty with what belonged to other men, I have done it over again as well as I could, and perhaps the reader will not be displeased to see it in the same stile with the Apology, in English as well as Latin.

But now, who can enough deplore the blindness, pride and partiality of those men, who being led by interest, and hood-winked by ignorance, did at first imploy all the disingenuous arts that spite and prejudice could furnish them with, to ruine this most excellent, apostolical, and primitive Church; or force her to return back to the state of corruption, out of which with so much labour, difficulty, and danger, she was then rising.

But there is some allowance to be made for the misinformation of strangers, who being separated from us by the ocean, were forced to take such accounts as were given them by others; and 1. being too apt to believe the reports of their own priests, whose interest it was to blacken her what they

they could; and 2. those of our own fugitives, who made the case much worse than they themselves thought it, that they might obtain the more pity, and consequently the better relief and provision abroad, which is wont to be afforded to all those that fly for religion, amongst those of the same faith; 3. And also suspecting the fidelity of the relations made by our ministers in foreign courts; 4. And of all our travellers who stuck to, and imbraced the religion established by law.

But then what can be said for those Roman Catholicks (as they will needs be called) who living at home here in England, and consequently having better means of informing themselves concerning the truth of things, cannot pretend to excuse themselves by those topicks strangers may? It was both their duty and interest to inform themselves of the affairs of their own country, and to submit to the laws and customs of it; whilest strangers that are not under those obligations, may excuse themselves if they do not make so diligent an inquiry into things, or happen at last to be mistaken in them. Besides in the settlement under Queen Elizabeth, all the care imaginable was taken to unite the whole Nation in one Religion, if it were possible; and whatever was in the former Liturgy that might exasperate or offend them, was taken out, by which complyances, (they are the words of the learned Dr. Heylyn[4]) and the expunging of the passages before remembred, the book was made so passable amongst the Papists, that for ten years they generally repaired to their Parish Churches, without doubt or scruple, as is affirmed not only by Sir Edward Coke in his speech against Garnet,

[4] *Dr. Heylyn.*] [*Hist. of the Reformation.* p. 283.] or part 2d. p. 111. (2d. edition.)

and

and his charge given at the assizes held at Norwich, but also by the Queen her self in a letter to Sir Francis Walsingham, then being her resident or Leiger Ambassador in the Court of France: The same is confessed by Sanders also in his Book de Schismate. And there is a report recorded by Camden [5], that the Pope offered by his Envoy Parapalia to the Queen, *Liturgiam Anglicam sua Authoritate confirmaturum, et usum Sacramenti sub utraque specie Anglis permissurum, dummodo illa Romanæ Ecclesiæ se aggregaret, Romanæque Cathedræ primatum agnosceret*, &c. That he would confirm the English Liturgy by his authority, and grant the English the use of the Sacrament under both kinds, provided the Queen would unite her self to the Church of Rome, and acknowledge the primacy of the Roman See. Since that time nothing has been added that might in the least offend them. Why then do they act contrary to their ancestors? Why do they pretend more conscience than either their fore-fathers or the Pope? Ten years was a sufficient time for them to have found out the Heresie in, if there had been any in the establishment. And we all know their separation was not upon any scruple of conscience they had, but in obedience to the Popes Bull [6]. The Pope in

[5] *Recorded by Camden.*] Compare also Fuller's *Church History*. p. 68, 69.

[6] *In obedience to the Pope's Bull.*] A. D. 1569. 13. Eliz. C. 2. "This year (1570) Pius V. caused a bull (more privately sent about 1569) to be publickly set up in London against the Queen; which was daringly done by one Felton, upon the Bishop of London's Palace Gates. In which Bull the Pope deprived her of all title to her kingdoms, and absolved her subjects from their oath of allegiance, and charged them not to obey her upon pain of his curse and excommunication." Strype's *Annals*. Vol. I. p. 610. This Bull was at the

in the mean time did what he did purely out of worldly interest and policy, to advance his own

the time thoroughly examined and confuted by Bishop Jewel, and by Henry Bullinger: and afterwards by Barlow Bishop of Lincoln in his *Brutum Fulmen*. Jewel's "View, &c." opens in the following manner.

"Whiles I opened unto you the words of the Apostle, *That day shall not come, except there come a departing first, and that man of sinne be disclosed, even the son of perdition*, &c. (2. Thess. C. 2.), there came to my hands a copy of a Bull lately sent into this realme by the Bishop of Rome. I read it, and weighed it thorowly, and found it to be a matter of great blasphemy against God, and a practise to work much unquietnesse, sedition and treason against our blessed and prosperous government. For it deposeth the Queenes Majesty, (whom God long preserve) from her royall seat, and teareth the crown from her head: it dischargeth all us her naturall subjects from all due obedience: it armeth one side of us against another: it emboldeneth us to burne, to spoile, to rob, to kill, and to cut one another's throat: it is much like that box which Pandora sent to Epimetheus, full of hurtful and unholesome evils. Are you desirous to heare it? It greeveth me to disclose, and your godly eares will hardly abide his unseemly speeches." And then he proceeds to expose the malice and falshoods of which the Bull is composed, running through the whole in a very animated and masterly strain of indignant eloquence.

The facts of the conformity of the generality of the Roman Catholics who then remained in England, till the æra of the publication of this Bull, and that from thenceforth they began to cease to repair to their Parish Churches, are admitted on all hands. But perhaps there were other causes which contributed to this unwelcome event, besides the thunders of the Vatican; the declension for example, of that zeal among the Protestants which blazed out on the re-establishment of their religion at the accession of Elizabeth; the lamentable divisions amongst themselves, occasioned by the Puritanical controversy, which now began to turn aside the heads and hearts of so great a portion of the best men of the nation, from real and unfeigned religion, to the agitation of the merest trifles, in which the folly and the deceitfulness of man's heart ever led him to be zealously engaged; and the uncharitable and unreasonable intolerance in which the Puritans indulged themselves against every thing which bore any relation to the Romish religion,

grandure

grandure and wealth at their cost and trouble.' If he could have secured this, the Liturgy and doctrine of the Church of England should have been owned for Catholick, and have been confirmed by his Holinesses authority.' But what is this to them? Are they bound to promote his temporal interest with their ruine, and the disquiet of their country? Or how come they to be more obliged to separate from the Church, than to rebel against the Crown, seeing the same Pope commanded both, and for the same ends, and is as infallible in the one as in the other?

But this is not our only calamity. About the same time another sort of men separated too upon direct contrary pretences. Why, 'tis our antiquity, our decency, our too great resemblance to the Church of Rome that offends them. We are not sufficiently purged for these pure men to joyn with: we have too little of the Primitive Church cryes the one, too much says the other; too few ceremonies, too much simplicity say the Papists; too many of the first, too little of the latter cry the Dissenters. Thus was truth ever persecuted on both sides, Christ crucified betwixt two Thieves, the Primitive Church persecuted by the Pagans on one side, and the Jews on the other. I venerate thy truth and moderation, O dear and Holy Mother, who dost so exactly resemble thy God and Saviour, and the Primitive Church both in thy truth and piety, and in thy sufferings too, which are thy glory!

But what shall I say for our Dissenters, who have run into such horrible crimes as schism and rebellion, only on pretence to avoid that Popery, that superstition that was only in their own fancies and prejudices? How can one and the same Church be persecuted justly for being too much

and

and too little reformed? Why have you separated from her Liturgy and rites, who pretend to imbrace her doctrines? Or if you must needs separate, why yet should you imbrue your hands in the blood of your soveraign and fellow subjects on that account? Supposing you were in the right, this would not justifie you. Christ never propagated his Church by blood and treason, but by sufferings and obedience.

The truth is, this Church hath been persecuted because she alone of all the Churches in Europe, has had the blessing and singular favour of God to reform with prudence, moderation, and an exact and regular conduct, after great and wise deliberations, by the consent of our Bishops, convocations, states, and Princes, without tumults or hasty counsels; and accordingly here was nothing changed but upon good advice, after the most irresistible conviction that it was contrary to the Word of God, the sentiments of the Holy Fathers and councils, and the practice of the truly Primitive and Apostolical Church. So that the Papists themselves do even envy our primitive doctrine, government, and discipline; and both fear and hate us more than any other of the Reformed Churches. *I could be contented* (said a great man of that perswasion) *there were no Priests* (i. e. Popish Priests) *in England, so there were no Bishops there.* This, and our excellent Liturgy, our decent ceremonies, and our excellent order moves their envy. They are the same things that have raised the spleens and animosities of the other side, with whom whatever is older than Zuinglius and Calvin, is presently Popery and must be destroyed. Tell them that episcopacy was settled in all Churches in the days of the very Apostles, and by them; and they reply the mystery of iniquity began then to

to work, intimating if not affirming, that this holy order was a part of it. So that they will rather traduce these holy men, who sacrificed their bloods for Jesus Christ and his Church, of pride, ambition, and a too great love of rule, than allow the establishments of our Church. Nay they will rather root out the monarchy, because supported by, and upholding episcopacy, than shew any the least reverence to the Church, in obedience to our laws and Princes.

So that leaving these implacable self-condemned enemies, give me leave, O ye loyal and religious sons of this holy and ever persecuted Church, to make my last address and application to you. You see by whom the Church has been ever persecuted; you see the reason of it; you cannot but know also what she has suffered on both sides; you have read the one, and your eyes have seen the other; rouse up then, and take effectual care of this innocent, this persecuted spouse of Christ. Stretch out your hands to Heaven by humble and fervent prayers, and implore the assistance of the most Holy God, for her safety and protection against all her enemies.

Let the virtue, piety, and holiness of your lives, assure the world that you profess this Holy Religion in good earnest, and that you do not dissemble either with God or man in it, but are sincere and resolved to live and die in this profession.

Put those laws we now have in execution duly and regularly, and with discretion and mercy, not out of bitterness and passion, but out of Conscience and a true fear of God, and care of his Church; that all the world may see it is nothing but a sense of your duties, and a zeal for God, that makes you active and prudently severe.

And as far as you shall have opportunity, take further

further care by new laws, to secure this great and inestimable blessing to your posterity and the generations to come, that they may rise up and bless God for you; and remember your names with eulogies and honour for ever.

And if any thing in these Papers may in any degree be serviceable to, and promote these good ends, I shall for ever be thankful to God and man for the favour.

BISHOP JEWEL.

THOUGH Truth and Reason may justly claim the Privilege of a kind reception, whoever brings them; yet such is the Nature of Mankind, that the Face of a Stranger is ever surveyed with a little more than ordinary Attention, as if Men thought generally that in it were the most lively Characters of what they seek to know, the Soul and Temper of a Man. Now because this is not to be expected at the first sight in Books, where yet it is most eagerly desired, Men have attempted to supply that defect with Pictures; and (which affords much more satisfaction) by premising the Lives and Characters of the Authors, which gives the Reader a truer and more lasting *Idea* of Men, than it is possible for Pencils and Colours to attain to.

The Author of the ensuing *Tracts* ought to be so well known to all *English* men, that his Name alone should have given a sufficient Commendation to any thing that can claim a descent from him: But it being now above an hundred years since his death, and his Works which were for a long time chained up in all Churches, being now superannuated or neglected, it may not be an unseasonable piece of Service to the Church, to revive the Memory of this great Man, the stout and invincible Champion of the Church of *England*; who losing the opportunity of sacrificing his Life for her in the Reign of Queen *Mary*, did it with more advantage to us, and pains to himself, under her glorious

successor, when he so freely spent himself in her service, that having wasted his thin body by excessive labour and study, he died young, but full of good works and glory.

He was born the 24th of May, in the year of our Lord 1522. at Buden in the parish of Berinber in the County of Devon; and tho a younger brother, yet inherited his fathers name. His mother was a Bellamie; and he had so great an esteem for it and her, that he engraved it on his signet, and had it always imprinted in his heart; a lasting testimony both of her virtue and kindness to him.

His father was a gentleman descended rather of an ancient and good, than very rich family. It is observed that his ancestors had injoyed that estate for almost two hundred years before the birth of this great man. And yet such was the number of his children, that it is no wonder if this, when young, wanted the assistance of good men for the promoting of his studies; for it is said that his father left ten children, between sons and daughters, behind him.

This John Jewel proving a lad of pregnant parts, and of a sweet and industrious nature and temper, was from his youth dedicated to learning; [7] and with great care cultivated by his parents and masters, which he took so well, that at the entrance of the thirteenth year of his age, about the Feast of St. James, he was admitted in Merton College in Oxon, under one Mr. Peter Burrey, a man neither of any great learning, nor much

[7] *Dedicated to Learning.*] "Literis Grammaticalibus apud Branton, Southmoulton, et Barnstapliam institutus sub auspiciis Walteri Bowen: Oxoniamque missus mense Julio anno 1535", Tanner's *Bibliotheca.* p. 427. Compare Humfrey's *Life of Jewel.* p. 17.

addicted

addicted to the reformation, which then (in the reign of Henry the eighth) went on but slowly, and with much irregularity in its motions. But we are yet beholding to his first tutor for this, that he committed this Jewel to Mr. John Parkhurst a Fellow of the same College, and afterwards first Minister of Cleave, and then Bishop of Norwich, who was a man both of more learning and of a better faith; and prudently instilled [8] together with his other learning, those excellent principles into this young gentleman, which afterwards made him the darling and wonder of his age.

During his continuance in this Colledge, a plague happening in Oxon, he removed to a place called Croxham, [9] where being lodged in a low room, and studying hard in the night, he got a lameness by a cold which attended him to his grave. Having spent almost four years in this College, the 19th of August Anno Domini 1539. the one and thirtieth of Henry the eighth, in the seventeenth year of his age, he was, by the procurement of one

[8] *Prudently instilled.*] Master Parkhurst "being desirous besides all other wholesome learning, to season his tender yeares with pure religion, tooke occasion often before him to dispute with Master Burrey about controversial points; and intending to compare the translations of Coverdale and Tindal gave him Tindal's translation to reade, himselfe overlooking Coverdale's. In the which collation of translations Jewel oft smiled: which Master Parkhurst observing, and marvelling that in those yeres he could note barbarismes in the vulgar translations, brake into these words, *Surely Paul's Crosse will one day ring of this boy*, prophecying as it were of that noble Sermon of his at Paul's Crosse (ann. 1560), which gave such a blow to the superstitions of the Popish Masse, or rather to the whole masse of Popish superstitions, that all the defenders of them have ever since staggered." Jewel's *Life*, prefixed to his Works. §. 4.

[9] *Called Croxham.*] [In the English Life before his works it is called Witney.]

Mr.

Mr. Slater, and Mr. Burrey, and Mr. Parkhurst his two tutors, removed into Corpus Christi College in the same University, where, I suppose, he met with something of an encouragement; but it is much more certaine he met with envy from his equals, who often suppressed his ingenious Exercises, and read others that were more like their own.

The twentieth day of October in the following year, he took his first Degree of Batchelor of Arts, with a great and general applause; when he prosecuted his studies with more vigor than before, beginning them at four in the morning, and continuing them till ten at night, so that he seemed to need some body to put him in mind of eating.

Being now attained to a great reputation for Learning, he began to instruct others, and amongst the rest Anthony Parkhurst [1] was committed to his care by Mr. John Parkhurst his tutor, which was a great argument of his great worth and industry.

Being thus imployed, he was chosen reader of humanity and rhetorick of his own College, and he managed this place seven years with great applause and honor. His example taught more than any precepts could; for he was a great admirer of Horace and Cicero, and read all Erasmus [2] his works, and imitated them too, for it was his custom to write something every day; and it was

[1] *Anthony Parkhurst.*] But Robert Serles, Vicar of St. Peter's Oxford, a zealous enemy to the new opinions in religion and literature, succeded, we are not told through what influence, in dissolving this relation: being filled with alarm at Jewel's design of instructing his young pupil in the Greek tongue, the study of which at that time in both our Universities, was considered as little better than synonymous with Heresy. See Humfrey's Life, p. 27.

[2] *All Erasmus.*] "Chiliadas Adagiorum imprimis, et volumen Epistolarum." Humfrey's Life, p. 24.

his

his common saying, that men acquired learning more by a frequent exercising of their pens, than by reading many books. He affected ever rather to express himselfe fluently, neatly, and with great weight of argument and strength of reason, than in hunting after the flowers of rhetorick, and the cadences of words; tho he understood them, no man better, and wrote a dialogue in which he comprehended the sum of the art of rhetorick.

The ninth of February 1544. he commenced master of arts, the charge of it being born by his good tutor Mr. Parkhurst, who had then the rich rectory of Cleve in the diocess of Glocester, which is of better value than some of our smaller bishopricks. Nor was this the only instance wherein he did partake of this good mans bounty, for he was wont twice or thrice in a year to invite him to his House, and not dismiss him without presents, money, and other things that were necessary for the carrying on his studies. And one time above the rest, coming into his chamber in the Morning, when he was to go backe to the University, he seised upon his and his companions purses, saying, what money, I wonder, have these miserable, and beggarly Oxfordians? And finding them pittifully lean and empty, stuffed them with money, till they became both fat and weighty.

Edward the Sixth succeeding his father the 28th of January 1546. the reformation went on more regularly and swiftly, and Peter Martyr being by that Prince called out of Germany, and made professor of Divinity at Oxon, November 1548, Mr. Jewel was one of his most constant hearers; and by the help of Characters which he had invented for his own use, took all his Lectures almost as perfectly as he spoke them.

About this time one Dr. Richard Smith, predecessor

cessor to Peter Martyr in that Chair at Oxon, and who was more a sophister than a divine, made an insult upon Peter Martyr, and interrupted him publickly and unexpectedly in his lecture. The German was not to be baffled by a surprize, but extempore recollected his Lecture, and defended it with a great presence of mind, the two parties in the schools being just upon the point of a tumult, the protestants for the present professor, and the Papists for the old one.

Peter Martyr nettled with this affront, challenged Smith to dispute with him publickly, and appointed him a day: but Smith fearing to be called in question for this uproar, fled before the time to St. Andrews in Scotland. But then [3] Tresham and Chadsy, two popish doctors, and one Morgan entered the Lists against Peter Martyr, and there was a very sharp but regular dispute betwixt them concerning the Lords-Supper. And Mr. Jewel having then a large share in Peter Martyrs affections, was by him appointed to take the whole disputation in writing [4], which was printed in the year 1549. For the regulating this disputation, the Council sent to Oxon, Henry Bishop of Lincoln, Dr. R. Cox Chancellor of that University, Dr. Simon Haines, Richard Morrison Esq; and Dr. Christopher Nevison commissioners and moderators.

In the year 1551. Mr. Jewel took his degree of Bachelor of Divinity, when he preached an excellent Latin sermon, which is extant almost perfect; taking for his text the words of St. Peter, Ep. 1.

[3] *But then.*] [This Dispute began the 28th of May, Anno Christi 1549. and lasted five days.]

[4] *In writing.*] He was also one of the Notaries attendant upon Cranmer and Ridley in the famous Disputation holden at Oxford, previously to their condemnation. See Strype's *Life of Cranmer*, p. 387,

cap.

cap. 4. v. 11. If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God, &c. Upon which words he raised such excellent doctrines, and made such wise and holy reflections in so pure and elegant a stile, as satisfied all the world of his great ability and deserts.

In the same time Mr. Jewel took a small living near Oxon called Sunningwell, more out of a desire to do good, than for the salary which was but small; whither he went once a fortnight on foot, tho he was lame, and it was troublesome to him to walk; and at the same time preached frequently both privately in his own College, and publickly in the University.

Besides his old friend Mr. Parkhurst, amongst others, one Mr. Curtop a fellow of the same College, afterwards Canon of Christ-Church, allowed him forty shillings a year, which was a considerable sum in those days; and one Mr. Chambers, who was entrusted with distributing the Charity of some Londoners to the poor scholars of Oxon, allowed Mr. Jewel out of it six pounds a year for books.

Edward the sixth dying the sixth of July, Anno Domini 1553. and Queen Mary succeeding him, and being proclaimed the seventeenth of the same month, Jewel was one of the first that felt the fury of this Tempest, and before any Law was made, or so much as any order given by the Queen, was expelled [5] out of the College by the Fellows upon their private authority, who had nothing to object against him, but 1. His following Peter Martyr; 2. His preaching some doctrines contrary to popery; 3. And his taking orders according to the laws then in force: for as for his life, it was acknow-

[5] *He is expelled.*] [Fuller in his Church History, saith he was expelled for refusing to be present at mass.]

ledged

ledged to be angelical and extreamely honest, by John Moren a fellow of the same College; who yet at the same time could not forbear calling him Lutheran, Zuinglian, and heretick. He took his leave of the College in these words, as near as I can render them in English.

" In my last Lectures I have (said he) imitated the custom of famished men, who when they see their meat likely to be suddenly and unexpectedly snatched from them, devour it with the greater haste and greediness. For whereas I intended thus to put an end to my Lectures, and perceived that I was like forthwith to be silenced, I made no scruple to entertain you (contrary to my former usage) with much unpleasant and ill dressed Discourse. For I see I have incurred the displeasure and hatred of some, but whether deservedly or no, I shall leave to their consideration; for I am perswaded that those who have driven me from hence, would not suffer me to live any where if it were in their Power. But as for me, I willingly yield to the times, and if they can derive down to themselves any satisfaction from my calamity, I would not hinder them from it. But as Aristides, when he went into exile and forsook his country, prayed that they might never more think of him; so I beseech God to grant the same to my fellow collegians, and what can they wish for more? Pardon me my hearers, if grief has seized me, being to be torn from that place against my will, where I have passed the first part of my life, where I have lived pleasantly, and been in some honor and imployment. But why do I thus delay to put an end to my misery by one word? Wo is me, that (as with my extreame sorrow and resentment I at last speak it) I must say farewel my studies, farewel to these beloved houses, farewel thou pleasant seat of learning,

learning, farewel to the most delightful conversation with you, farewel young men, farewel lads, farewel fellows, farewel brethren, farewel ye beloved as my eyes, farewel all, farewel."

Thus did he take his leave (saith the author of the English life before his works) of his lecture, fellow-ship and college; and was reduced at one blow to great poverty and desertion: but he found for some time a place of harbour in Broadgates-Hall, another college in the same University. Here he met with some short gleams of comfort; for the University of Oxon more kind than his College, and to alleviate the miseries of his shipwrecked estate, chose him to be her Orator, in which capacity he curiously penned a gratulatory letter or address (as the term now is) to the Queen, on the behalf and in the name of the University: "Expressing in it the countenance of the Roman Senators in the beginning of Tiberius his reign, exquisitely tempered and composed, to keep out joy and sadness, which both strove at the same time to display their colours in it; the one for dead Augustus; the other for reigning Tiberius. And upon the assurance of several of her nobles, that the Queen would not change the established religion, expressing some hopes she would so do; which was confirmed then to them by the promise the Queen had made to the Suffolk and Norfolk Gentry, who had rescued her out of the very jaws of ruine." Fuller saith, that the writing this letter was put upon him with a design to ruine him, but there is not the least colour for this surmise; he being so very lately, seasonably and kindly chosen Orator when he was so injuriously expelled out of his own College; but it is much more probable the sweetness, smoothness and briskness of his stile, was both the reasou why he was chosen Orator first

and

and then imployed to pen this letter. The sum or heads of which are in Mr. Laurence Humfrey's Life of Jewel: But there is no entire copy extant.

It is observed by the last mentioned author, that whilst Jewel was reading this letter to Dr. Tresham Vice-chancellor, the great bell of Christ-Church (which this doctor having caused to be new run a few days before, had christened by the name of Mary) toll'd, and that hearing her pleasant voice now call him to his beloved Mass, he burst out into an exclamation. "O delicate and sweet harmony! O beautiful Mary, how musically she sounds, how strangely she pleaseth my ears;" so Mr Jewel's sweet pen was forced to give way to the more acceptable tinkling of this new lady [6]. And we may easily conjecture how the poor man took it.

Being

[6] *This new lady.*] About this time, the same Dr. Tresham, "supplying the roome of the Sub Dean in Christ Church, after hee had called all the students of the College together, with great eloquence and art persuasorie, began to commend the dignitie of the Masse unto them, declaring, that there was stuffe in Scripture enough to prove the Masse good. Then to allure them to the Catholick service of the Church, he used these reasons, declaring that there weere a goodlie companie of Copes, that were appointed to Windsore, but he found the Queene so gracious unto him, that they should come to Christ Church. Now if they, like honest men, would come to Church, they should weare them on Holie daies. And besides all this, hee would get them *the Ladie bell of Bampton;* and that should make the sweetest ring in all England. And as for an holie-water sprinkle, he had alreadie the fairest that was within the realme. Wherefore he thought that no man would be so mad to forgoe these commodities.

"Which things I rehearse, that it may appeare what want of discretion is in the Fathers of Popery, and into what idle follies such men do fall: whome, I beseeche the Lord, if it be his pleasure, to reduce to a better truth, and to open their eyes to see their owne blindness." Fox's *Acts.* p. 1341.

But the follies here mentioned are nothing comparable in magnitude to those, deserving indeed a much more solemn name,

Being thus ejected out of all he had, he became obnoxious to the insolence and pride of his enemies, which he endeavoured to allay by humility and compliance, which yet could not mitigate their rage and fury; but rather in all probability heightened their malice, and drew more affronts upon the meek man. But amongst all his enemies, none sought his ruine more eagerly than Dr. Martial, Dean of Christ-Church, who had changed his religion now twice alreadie; and did afterwards twice or thrice more in the reign of Queen Elizabeth: he having neither conscience nor religion of his own, was wonderous desirous to make Jewel's conscience or life a papal sacrifice.

In order to this, he sends to Jewel by the inquisitors a bead-roll of popish doctrines, to be subscribed by him upon pain of fire and faggot, and other grievous tortures. The poor man having neither friend nor time allowed him to consult with, took the pen in his hand, and saying, "Have you a mind to see how well I can write?" subscribed his name hastily, and with great reluctance.

But this no way mitigated the rage of his enemies against him. They knew his great love to, and familiarity with Peter Martyr, and nothing less than his life would satisfie these blood-hounds, of which turn-coat Martial was the fiercest: so being forsaken by his friends for this his sinful complyance, and still pursued like a wounded deer by his enemies; but more exagitated by the inward remorses and

name, which took place at the baptizing of their bells; an ample account of which, taken from authentic sources, may be found in Becon's *Works*. Vol. III. fol. 233, 234. A. D. 1564. See also Strype's *Hist. of the Churches in England*. p. 225—231. Weever's *Funeral Monuments*. p. 118, 119. Discourse. edit. 2 *Sacra Institutio, juxta usum Eccles: Sarisburiensis*. p. 158—162. edit. 1004.

reproaches

reproaches of his own conscience, he resolved at last to flee for his life.

And it was but time; for if he had staid but one night longer, or gone the right way to London, he had perished by their fury. One Augustin Berner a Switzer, first a servant to Bishop Latimer, and afterwards a minister, found him lying upon the ground almost dead with vexation, weariness (for this lame man was forced to make his escape on foot) and cold, and setting him upon an horse, conveyed him to the Lady Ann Warcupps a widow, who entertained him for some time, and then sent him up to London, where he was in more safety.

Having twice or thrice changed his lodgings in London, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton a great minister of state in those times, furnished him with money for his journey, and procured him a ship for his transportation beyond the seas. And well it had been if he had gone sooner; but his friend Mr. Parkhurst hearing of the restoring of the mass fled forthwith; and poor Mr. Jewel knowing nothing of it, went to Cleave to beg his advice and assistance, being almost killed by his long journey on foot in bitter cold and snowy weather, and being forced at last to return to Oxon, more dejected and confounded in his thoughts than he went out; which miseries were the occasions of his fall, as Gods mercy was the procurer both of his escape and recovery.

For being once arrived in Franckford in the beginning of the second year of Queen Mary's reign, he found there Mr. Richard Chambers his old benefactor, Dr. Robert Horne afterwards Bishop of Winchester, Dr. Sands Bishop of London, Sir Francis Knowles a Privy Counsellor, and afterwards Lord Treasurer, and his eldest son, &c. These received Jewel with the more kindness, because he came

came unexpectedly and unhoped for; and advised him [7] to make a public recantation of his subscription; which he willingly did in the pulpit the next Lords-day in these words. "It was my abject and cowardly mind, and faint heart that made my weak hand to commit this wickedness." Which when he had uttered as well as he could for tears and sighs, he applied himself in a fervent prayer, first to God Almighty for his pardon, and afterwards to the Church; the whole auditory accompanying him with tears and sighes, and ever esteeming him more for his ingenuous repentance, than they would (perhaps) have done if he had not fallen.

It is an easie thing for those that were never tried, to censure the frailty of those that have truckled for some time under the shock of a mighty temptation; but let such remember St. Paul's advice, *Let him that standeth take heed least he fall.* This great mans fall shall ever be my lesson, and if this glistering Jewel were thus clowded and foil'd, God be merciful to me a sinner.

Mr. Jewel had not been long at Franckford, before Peter Martyr hearing of it, often sollicited him to come to Strasburgh, where he was now settled and provided for; and all things considered, a wonder it is that he did not perish in England; For there was [8] no person more openly aimed at than he, because none of them had given wider wounds than he to the catholic cause. One Tresham

[7] *Advised him.*] Jewel himself in the papers which passed in controversy between him and Dr. Cole, speaking of the submission which he had made at Oxford, says, "But I have confessed it openlie, and *unrequired*, in the midst of the congregation." Works, p. 30.

The place in which he subscribed was St. Mary's Church, Oxford. See Dering's *Sparing Restraint*, p. 95. A. D. 1567.

[8] *For there was.*] Heylyn's *Ecclesia Restaurata*, p. 196.

a Senior

a Senior Canon of Christ Church, who had held some points against him at his first coming thither, now took the benefit of the times to be revenged on him, and incited those of Christ-Church and of other houses to affront him publickly. So that not finding any safety at Oxford, he retired to Lambeth to Cranmer, where he was sure of as much as the place could afford him. A consultation had been held by some of the more fiery spirits, for his commitment unto prison. But he came thither (as was well known) on the publick faith, which was not to be violated for the satisfaction of some private persons. It was thought fit therefore to discharge him of all further imployment, and to license him to depart in peace[9]: none being more forward to furnish him with all things for his going hence, than the new Lord Chancellor, Bishop Gardiner, whether in honour to his learning, or out of a desire to send him packing, shall not now be questioned; but less humanity was shewed to him in his wife, whose body having been buried in the church of St. Frideswide, was afterwards by publick order taken out of the grave and buried in a common dunghill. But in the reign of Queen Elizabeth was removed, and her bones mixed with St. Francis. And the truth is, the Queen (who was a bigotted papist, and too much priest-ridden) breaking not only her promise to the men of Suffolk, who had stood by her in her greatest necessity, and treating them with extream severity for but challenging the performance of her promise; one Dobbe who had

9 *Depart in peace.*] [Peter Martyr also helped himself, for he would not goe without the Queens pasport and leave, and when he had it, concealed himself fourteen days on the English coast, then privately took ship and arrived at Antwerp in the night, and before day took coach and so got safe to Strasbourgh, the 30th of October 1553.]

spoken

spoken more boldly than the rest, being ordered to stand three days in the pillory; but also her more solemn engagement made the twelfth of August 1553. in the Council; "That altho her conscience was staid in matters of religion, yet she was resolved not to compel or strain others, otherwise than as God should put into their hearts a perswasion of that truth she was in; and this she hoped should be done by the opening his word to them, by godly, vertuous, and learned preachers:" I say, considering how ill she kept her promise to her own subjects, it is a wonder she should keep the faith given to this stranger in her brothers reign, and not by her; and I conceive no reason can be given for this, but the over-ruling providence of God, who governs the hearts of princes as he thinks fit.

But well it was for Mr. Jewel that there he was; and as much of Mr. Jewel's sufferings in England had been occasioned by his great respects he had shewn to Peter Martyr whilest he lived at Oxon; so now Peter Martyr never left solliciting him (as I said) to come to him to Strasbourgh till he prevailed, where he took him to his own table and kept him always with him. And here Mr. Jewel was very serviceable to him in his edition of his Commentaries upon the book of Judges, which were all transcribed for the press by him; and he used also to read every day some part of a Father to him, and for the most part St. Augustin, with which Father they were both much delighted.

At Strasbourgh Mr. Jewel found J. Poynet late Bishop of Winchester, Edmund Grindal Archbishop [1] of York, Edwin Sands, Sir J. Cheeke, and

[1] *Grindal Archbishop.*] This should have been written, "Grindal *afterwards* Archbishop, &c." A similar error is committed above, where Sandys is called Bishop of London; and below, where Pilkington is stiled Bishop of Durham.

Sir Anthony Coke Kt. and several other great men of the English nation, who were fled thither for their religion. And with these he was in great esteem, which opened a way for his preferment upon his return into England after the storm was over.

Peter Martyr having been a long time sollicited by the Senate of Zurick to go thither and take upon him the place of Professor of Hebrew, and Interpreter of the Scriptures in the place of Conrad Pellican, who was almost the first Professor of Hebrew in Christendom, and died about this time near an hundred years of age; at last accepted the office, and carried Mr. Jewel (July 13. 1556.) with him to Zurick, where he lived still with Peter Martyr in his own family. Here he found James Pilkington Bishop of Durham, and several others who were maintained by the procurement of Richard Chambers, but out of the purses of Mr. Richard Springham, Mr. John Abel, Mr. Thomas Eton merchants of London, and several others; till at last Stephen Gardiner finding who were their benefactors, threatned "he would in a short time make them eat their fingers ends for hunger:" and it was spre against his will that he proved a false prophet, for he clapt up so many of their benefactors in England, that after this there came but a small, if any, supply out of England to them. But then Christopher Prince of Wittenberg, and the Senators of Zurick, and the foreign divines were so kind to them, that they had still a tolerable subsistence; and Mr. Jewel stood in need of the less, because he lived with Peter Martyr till his return into England.

So saith Mr. Humfrey, p. 90. in his Life; but it is apparent by the first lines of his Epistle to Signior Scipio, that he studied some time at Padua, and there

there being no mention of his travelling at any time before his exile, nor indeed any possibility of it, I suppose that whilst he was thus with Peter Martyr at Zurick, he made a step over the Alpes to Padua, which was not very distant, and there studied some time, and contracted his acquaintance with the said Venetian gentleman; for this journey is no where mentioned by any other author that I have seen, and I can find no time so likely for it as now.

During all the time of his exile, which was about four years, he studied very hard, and spent the rest of his time in consolating and confirming his brethren; for he would frequently tell them that when their brethren indured such bitter tortures and horrible martyrdoms at home, it was not reasonable they should expect to fare deliciously in banishment, concluding always: "*Hæc non durabunt ætatem.*" These things will not last an age. Which he repeated so very often[a], and with so great an assurance of mind that it would be so, that many

[a] *So very often.*] There seems to have existed, especially among the exiles, a very firm persuasion, that the dominion of Popery and cruelty, upon this its revival in England under Q. Mary, would not be of long duration. "I dare neither affirm, that Master Fox foresaw this sudden change of publick affairs, nor yet will I take from him the testimony of the reverend and famous Divine Dr. Elmare, sometime Bishop of London; who in presence of many yet living, was wont to say; that he was himself at a sermon, wherein Master Fox among many things which he preached, to comfort the banished English, did with confidence tell them; *that now was the time come for their return into England, and that he brought them that news by commandment from God.* For which words he was then sharply reproved by the graver divines there present; but excused afterwards, by the event; when by comparing of times it was found that Queen Mary died but the day before Master Fox had thus presaged." Life of John Fox, the Martyrologist, written by his Son.

believed it before it came to pass, and more took it for a prophetick sentence afterwards.

When the English left their native country, they were all of a piece[3]; but some of them going to Geneva and other places which had imbraced the model of Reformation settled by Calvin, they became fond of these foreign novelties, and some of them at Franckford, in the year 1554. began an alteration of the Liturgy, and did what they could to draw others to them; and to these men Knox the great incendiary of Scotland afterwards, joyned himself; and not long after one Whitehead a zealous Calvinist, but of a much better temper than Knox. Not contented with this alteration, the fifteenth of November 1554. they writ letters in open defiance of the English Liturgy to them of Zurick, who defended it in a letter of the 28th of the same month.

Grindal and Chambers were sent from Strasburgh to Frankford to quiet these innovators, but to no purpose; so returning back again, the English at Strasburgh wrote to them the thirteenth of December, all which procured no other regard from them, but only to obtain Calvin's judgment of it, which being suitable to their own, as there was no wonder it should; things continued thus till the thirteenth of March following, when Dr. Richard Cox entered Frankford, drove Knox out, and resettled the Liturgy there. Whereupon in the end of Auguſt following, Fox with some few others went to Basil; but the main body followed Knox and Goodman to Geneva their mother city (as Dr. Heylyn ſtiles it),

[3] *All of a piece.*] [English Life. Dr. Peter Heylyn saith the contrary, and that Wittingham, Williams, and Goodman were Zuinglians before they left England, who were the chief promoters of the disorder at Frankford. *Ecclesia Restaurata*, p. 228.]

where

where they made choice of Knox and Goodman for their constant preachers; under which ministry they rejected the whole frame and fabrick of the Reformation made in England in King Edward's time, and conformed themselves wholly to the fashions of the Church of Geneva, &c. Thus far Dr. Heylyn.

Mr. Jewel being then at Zurick, used his utmost endeavour to reclaim these men, and put a stop to this rising schism; exhorting them as brethren to lay aside all strife and emulation, especially about such small matters; least thereby they should greatly offend the minds of all good men: which thing (he said) they ought to have a principal care of. And doubtless this good man thought that their gratitude to God for restoring them to their native country under the auspicious reign of Queen Elizabeth of blessed memory, had for ever put an end to this dispute, and he seems to speak as much [4] in his Apology for the Church of England; but within a few years this fury broke loose again, and just about the time of Jewel's death, became more troublesome than ever before; and just about an hundred years after its rise, by a dismal rebellion overturned at once the church and monarchy of Great Britain.

But to return to Mr. Jewel and our exiles; the seventeenth of November 1558. God remembered the distressed state of the Church of England, and put an end to her sufferings, by removing that bigotted lady: the news of which flying speedily [5] to

[4] *Speak as much.*] Near the end: "Postremo, nos inter nos de omnibus dogmatis, et capitibus religionis Christianæ convenire; et uno ore, unoque spiritu colere, Deum et Patrem Domini nostri Jesu Christi."

[5] *Flying speedily.* Her death was known at Rome the ninth day

to our exiles, they hasted into England again, to congratulate the succession of Queen Elizabeth of ever blessed memory.

His good benefactor and tutor Mr. Parkhurst, upon the arrival of this news, made him a visit in Germany; but fearing Mr. Jewel had not chosen the safest way for his return to England, left him and went another way, which seeming more safe, in the end proved otherwise. Mr. Jewel arriving safely in England with what he had, whilst the other was robbed by the way; and so at his landing in England, Mr. Jewel, (who was here before him) very gratefully relieved his great benefactor.

The time of Mr. Jewel's arrival in England, is no where expressed [6] that I can find, but he being then at Zurick, in all probability was for that cause none of the first that returned; so that when he came back, he had the comfort to find all things well disposed for the reception of the Reformation: for the Queen had by a proclamation of the thirteenth of December 1558. ordered that "no man, of what quality soever he were, should presume to alter any thing in the state of religion, or innovate in any of the rites and ceremonies thereunto belonging, &c. until some further order should be taken therein. Only it was permitted, and withall required, that the Litany, the Lords-Prayer, the Creed, and the ten Commandments, should be said in the English tongue, and that the Epistle and

day after it happened. See Parker's *Antiquitat. Britann.* Life of Parker, at the beginning. [The news of the Queen's death came to Zurick the last of November. Martyr's Letters.]

[6] *No where expressed.*] But we may approximate to it pretty nearly. He was at Strasburg, Jan. 26. 1559; and his first letter to Peter Martyr after his return to England is dated March 20th in the same year. See Burnet's *Reformat.* Vol. III. p. 264 and p. 268. Records.

Gospel

Gospel should be read in English at the time of the high mass, which was done (saith Dr. Heylyn) in all the churches of London, on the next Sunday after, being New-years-day; and by degrees in all the other churches in the kingdom. Further than this, she thought it not convenient to proceed at the present, only she prohibited the elevation of the sacrament at the altar of the Chappel Royal: Which was likewise forborne in all other churches: and she set at liberty all that had been imprisoned for religion in her sisters time, and ordered the Liturgy to be revised with great care, and that a Parliament should be summoned to sit at Westminster the 25th of January 1559."

All this I suppose at least was done before Mr. Jewel returned into England; for whether he was here at the coronation is uncertain. He was entertained first by Mr. Nicholas Culverwell for almost six months; and then falling into a sickness, was invited by Dr. William Thames, to lodge at his house; but this was after the Parliament.

The Liturgy being then reviewed, and whatever might give the popish party any unnecessary exasperation or discontent purged out[7]; in order to the facilitating

[7] *Purged out.*] "Great care was taken for expunging all such passages, as might give any scandal or offence to the Popish party, or be urged by them in excuse for their not coming to Church, and joining with the rest of the congregation in Gods publick worship. In the Litany first made and published by King Henry the 8th. and afterwards continued in the two Liturgies of King Edward the 6th. there was a prayer *to be delivered from the tyrannie and all the detestable enormities of the Bishop of Rome*, which was thought fit to be expunged, as giving matter of scandal and dis-affection to all that party, or such as otherwise wished well to that religion. In the first Liturgie of King Edward, the Sacrament of the Lord's body was delivered with this benediction, that is to say, *The body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for the preservation of thy body*

facilitating the passing an Act of Parliament for the settling it, and the establishment of other things that were necessary, a publick disputation was appointed on the thirtieth of March following, to be holden in the church of Westminster in the English tongue, in the presence of as many of the Lords of the Council, and of the members of both houses, as were desirous to inform themselves in the state of the questions. The disputation was also to be managed (for the better avoiding of confusion) by a mutual interchange of writings upon every point; each writing to be answered the next day, and so from day to day till the whole were ended. To all which the Bishops at first consented, tho they would not afterwards stand to it. The questions were three, concerning prayers in the vulgar tongue, the power of the church, for the changing rites and ceremonies, and the propitiatory sacrifice of the mass for the living and the dead.

The first use that was made of Mr. Jewel after his return, was the nominating him one of the disputants for the reformed party; and tho he was the last in number and place, yet he was not the least either in desert or esteem, having made great

body and soul to life everlasting: The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c. which being thought by Calvin and his Disciples to give some countenance to the grosse and carnal presence of Christ in the Sacrament, which passeth by the name of Transubstantiation, in the schools of Rome, was altered into this form in the second Liturgie; that is to say, *Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving. Take and drink this*, &c. But the revisors of the book joined both forms together, lest under colour of rejecting a *carnal*, they might be thought also to deny such a *real presence* as was defended in the writings of the antient Fathers. Upon which ground they expunged also a whole rubrick &c. &c." Heylin's *Hist. of the Reformation.* Part 2 p. 111. ed t 2d. Compare also Pullen's *Moderation of the Church of England*, p. 430, &c.

additions

additions to his former learning in his four years exile and travel: which is a great improvement to ingenious spirits. But this disputation was broken off by the popish party, who would not stand to the order appointed; so that Mr. Jewel in all probability had no occasion to shew either his zeal or learning.

The Parliament ended the eighth of May 1559. and by virtue of an Act passed in this Parliament, soon after Midsummer the Queen made a visitation of all the dioceses in England, by Commissioners for rectifying all such things as they found amiss, and could not be redressed by any ordinary episcopal power, without spending of more time than the exigencies of the church could then admit of. And this was done by a book of articles printed for that purpose; and the inquiry was made upon oath by the Commissioners. Here Mr. Jewel was taken in again, and made one of these Commissioners for the west. When he visited his own native country, which till then perhaps he had not seen since his return from exile; when also he preached to and disputed with his country-men, and indeavoured more to win them to imbrace the Reformation by good usage, civility, and reason, than to terrifie or awe them by that great authority the Queen had armed him and his fellow Commissioners with.

Returning back to London, and giving the Queen a good and satisfactory account of their visitation, the 21st of January following, Mr. Jewel who was then only Batchelor of Divinity, was consecrated Bishop of Sarisbury, which he at first modestly declined, but at last accepted, in obedience to the Queens command. This see had been void by the death of John Capon his immediate predecessor, who died in the year 1557. now near three years. And here the Divine Providence again gave him

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the advantage in point of seniority over his tutor Mr. John Parkhurſt, who was not consecrated Bishop of Norwich till the fourteenth of July after; but then his tutor had the advantage of him in point of revenue, for Mr. Jewel's bishoprick had been miserably impoverished by his predecessor; so that he complained afterwards, that there was never a good living left him that would maintain a learned man; for (said he) the Capon has devoured all; because he hath either given away or sold all the ecclesiastical dignities and livings. So that the good Bishop was forced all his life-time after to take extraordinary pains in travelling and preaching in all parts of his diocess, which brought him to his grave the sooner: whereas his tutor had a much richer bishoprick, and consequently, more ease, and out lived his pupil Jewel three years.

The Sunday before Easter of this year, Bishop Jewel preached at Paul's Cross, his famous Sermon upon the 1 Cor. 11. v. 23. *For I have received of the Lord that which I also delivered unto you, that the Lord Jesus the same night in which he was betrayed took bread,* &c. This sermon gave a fatal blow to the popish religion here in England, which was become very odious to all men, by reason of the barbarous cruelty used by those of that perswasion in the reign of Queen Mary; but the challenge which he then made, and afterwards several times and in several places repeated, was the most stinging part of this sermon, and therefore tho I am concerned to be as short as I can, I will yet insert this famous piece at large.

" If any learned man of our adversaries, (said he) or all the learned men that be alive, be able to bring any one sufficient sentence out of any old catholick doctor, or father, or general Council, or holy scripture, or any one example in the primi-

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tive church, whereby it may clearly and plainly be proved during the first six hundred years. 1. That there was at any time any private masses in the world. 2. Or that there was then any communion ministred unto the people under one kind. 3. Or that the people had their common-prayer in a strange tongue that the people understood not. 4. Or that the Bishop of Rome was then called an universal Bishop, or the Head of the universal Church. 5. Or that the people were then taught to believe that Christ's body is really, substantially, corporally, carnally or naturally in the Sacrament. 6. Or that his body is or may be in a thousand places or more at one time. 7. Or that the priest did then hold up the sacrament over his head. 8. Or that the people did then fall down and worship it with godly honour. 9. Or that the sacrament was then, or now ought to be, hanged up under a canopy. 10. Or that in the sacrament after the words of consecration, there remained only the accidents and shews without the substance of bread and wine. 11. Or, that then the priests divided the sacrament into three parts, and afterwards received himself alone. 12. Or that whosoever had said the sacrament is a figure, a pledge, a token, or a remembrance of Christ's body, had therefore been adjudged for an heretick. 13. Or that it was lawful then to have thirty, twenty, fifteen, ten, or five masses said in the same church in one day. 14. Or that images were then set up in the churches, to the intent the people might worship them. 15. Or that the lay-people were then forbidden to read the word of God in their own tongue. 16. Or that it was then lawful for the priest to pronounce the words of consecration closely, or in private to himself. 17. Or that the priest had then authority to offer up Christ unto his Father. 18. Or to communicate and receive

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the sacrament for another, as they do. 19. Or to apply the vertue of Christs death and passion to any man by the means of the mass. 20. Or that it was then thought a sound doctrine to teach the people that mass, *ex opere operato* (that is, even for that it is said and done) is able to remove any part of our sin. 21. Or that any Christian man called the sacrament of the Lord, his God. 22. Or that the people were then taught to believe, that the body of Christ remaineth in the sacrament, as long as the accidents of bread and wine remain there without corruption. 23. Or that a mouse or any other worm or beast, may eat the body of Christ, (for so some of our adversaries have said and taught.) 24. Or that when Christ said, *Hoc est corpus meum*, the word *hoc* pointed not to the bread, but to an *individuum vagum*, as some of them say. 25. Or that the accidents, or forms, or shews of bread and wine be the sacraments of Christs body and blood, and not rather the very bread and wine itself. 26. Or that the sacrament is a sign or token, of the body of Christ, that lieth hidden underneath it. 27. Or that ignorance is the mother and cause of true devotion: The conclusion is, that I shall then be content to yield and subscribe [8]."

"This

[8] *Yield and subscribe.*] With this famous challenge the reader may compare the following, given, about the year 1624, by another very learned and eminent divine, Dr. Richard Mountague, afterwards Bishop of Chichester, &c.

1. "If any Papist living, or all the Papists living, can prove unto me, that the present Roman church, is eyther the Catholique church or a sound member of the Catholique church, I will subscribe.

2. "If any Papist living, or all the Papists living, can prove unto me, that the present church of England is not a true member of the Catholique church, I will subscribe.

3. "If

"This challenge" (saith the learned Dr. Heylyn, Eccles. Restaurat. p. 301.) "being thus published in so great an auditory, startled the English Papists both at home and abroad, but none more than such of our fugitives as had retired to Lovain, Doway, or St. Omers, in the low-country provinces belonging to the King of Spain. The business was first agitated by the exchange of friendly letters betwixt the said reverend prelate and Dr. Henry Cole the late Dean of St. Pauls; more violently followed in a book of Rastal's[9], who first appeared in the lists against the challenger; followed herein by Dorman and Marshall, who severally took up the cudgels to as little purpose; the first being well beaten by Nowel, and the last by Calfhill, in their discourses writ against them: but they were only velitations, or preparatory skirmishes in reference to the main encounter, which was reserved for the reverend challenger himself, and Dr. John Harding, one of the divines of Lovain, and the most learned of the College. The combatants were born in the same county, bred up in the same Grammar School, and studied in the same University also:—Both zealous Protestants[1] in the time of King Edward, and both relapsed to Popery in

3. "If any Papist, &c. can prove unto mee, that all those points, or any of those points which the church of Rome maintaineth against the church of England, were, or was, the perpetual doctrine of the Catholique Church: the concluded Doctrine of the representative Church in any general council, or nationall, approved by a generall: or the dogmatical resolution of any one Father, for 500 years after Christ, I will subscribe." *Gagg for the New Gospel.* Address to the Reader.

[9] *Of Rastal's.*] [Rastal was a Common Lawyer, and published his book in 1563.]

[1] *Zealous Protestants.*] See Jewel's *Answer to Master Harding's Conclusion;* Works. signat. (R r) 5.

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the time of Queen Mary; Jewel for fear, and Harding upon hope of favour and preferment by it. But Jewel's fall may be compared to that of St. Peter, which was short and sudden, rising again by his repentance, and fortified more strongly in his faith than before he was: but Harding's like to that of the other Simon; premeditated and resolved on, never to be restored again (so much was there within him of the gall of bitterness) to his former standing. But some former differences had been between them in the church of Sarisbury, whereof the one was Prebendary*, and the other Bishop, occasioned by the Bishops visitation of that cathedral; in which as Harding had the worst, so it was a presage of a second foil which he was to have in this encounter. Who had the better of the day, will easily appear to any that consults the writings, by which it will appear how much the Bishop was too hard for him at all manner of weapons. Whose learned answers as well in maintenance of his challenge, as in defence of his Apology (whereof more hereafter) contain in them such a magazine of all sorts of learning, that all our controversors since that time, have furnished themselves with arguments and authority from it."

Thus far that learned man has discoursed the event of this famous challenge with so much brevity and perspicuity, that I thought it better to transcribe his words, than to do it much worse my self.

When Queen Mary died, Paul the Fourth was Pope, to whom Queen Elizabeth sent an account of her coming to the crown, which was delivered by Sir Edward Karn her sisters resident at Rome;

* *Was Prebendary.*] [Harding was then Prebendary when Mr. Jewel was elected, and gave his vote for him. *Humf.* p. 140.]

to

to which the angry gentleman replied, "That England was held in fee of the Apostolick See, that she could not succeed being illegitimate; nor could he contradict the declarations made in that matter by his predecessors Clement the Seventh, and Paul the Third: he said it was a great boldness in her, to assume the crown without his consent; for which in reason she deserved no favour at his hands; yet if she would renounce her pretensions, and refer her self wholly to him, he would shew a fatherly affection to her, and do every thing for her that could consist with the dignity of the Apostolick See." Which answer being hastily and passionately made, was as little regarded by the Queen. But he dying soon after, Pius the Fourth an abler man succeeded; and he was for gaining the Queen by arts and kindness; to which end he sent Vincent Parapalia, Abbot of St. Saviours, with courteous letters to her, dated May the fifth 1560, with order to make large proffers to her under hand: but the Queen had rejected the Pope's authority by Act of Parliament, and would have nothing to do with Parapalia, nor would she suffer him to come into England. In the interim the Pope had resolved to renew the Council at Trent, and in the next year sent Abbot Martinengo his Nuncio to the Queen, to invite her and her bishops to the Council, and he accordingly came to Bruxells, and from thence sent over for leave to come into England: but tho France and Spain interceded for his admission, yet the Queen stood firm, and at the same time rejected a motion from the Emperor Ferdinando, to return to the old Religion as he called it. Yet after all these denials given to so many and such potent Princes, one Scipio a gentleman of Venice, who formerly had had some acquaintance with Bishop Jewel when he

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was a student in Padua, and had heard of Martiningo's ill successes in this negotiation, would needs spend some eloquence in labouring to obtain that point by his private letters, which the Nuncio could not gain as a publick minister; and to that end he writes his letters of expostulation to Bishop Jewel his old friend, preferred not long before to the See of Sarisbury. Which letter did not long remain unanswered; that learned prelate (saith my author, Dr. Heylyn, Eccl. Rest. p. 349.) was not so unstudied in the nature of councils, as not to know how little of a General Council could be found at Trent: And therefore he returned an answer to the proposition so elegantly penned, and so elaborately digested, that neither Scipio himself nor any other of that party durst reply upon him. Which letter the reader will find in this small piece new translated. But this was written some time after the Apology was printed in England.

In the year following[3] Bishop Jewel put out The Apology of the Church of England in Latin; which tho written by him, was published by the Queens authority, and with the advice of some of the Bishops, as the publick confession of the Catholick and Christian Faith of the Church of England, &c. and to give an account of the reasons of our departure from the See of Rome, and as an answer to those calumnies that were then raised against the English Church and nation, for not submitting to the pretended General Council of Trent then sitting.

So that it is not to be esteemed as the private work of a single Bishop, but as a publick declara-

[3] *In the year following.*] [A. D. 1562. Humfrey in the Life of Jewel. p. 177. Peter Martyr's Letter to Bishop Jewel concerning this book is dated Aug. 24. 1562.]

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tion of that Church whose name it bears. Mr. Humfrey seems in this place to confound this and the Epistle together, as if they had been written at the same time, which it is apparent they were not.

This Apology being published during the very time of the last meeting of the Council of Trent, was read there, and seriously considered, and great threats made that it should be answered; and accordingly two learned Bishops, one a Spaniard and the other an Italian, undertook that task, but neither of them did any thing in it.

But in the mean time the book spread into all the countries in Europe, and was much applauded in France, Flanders, Germany, Spain, Poland, Hungary, Denmark, Sweden and Scotland; and found at last a passage into Italy, Naples and Rome it self; and was soon after translated into the German, Italian, French, Spanish, Dutch, and last into the Greek[4] tongue; in so great esteem this book was abroad: and at home it was translated into English by the Lady Bacon wife to Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the great Seal of England.

It very well deserves the character Mr Humfrey has given of it, whose words are these. (Page 187.) "It is so drawn, that the first part of it is an illustration, and as it were a paraphrase of the Twelve Articles of the Christian Faith (or Creed); the second is a short and solid confutation of whatever is objected against the Church. If the order be considered, nothing can be better distributed; if the perspicuity, nothing can be fuller of light; if the stile, nothing more terse; if the words,

[4] *Into the Greek.*] And also into Welch, by M. Kyffin Oxford, 1571. 8vo.

nothing more splendid; if the arguments, nothing stronger."

The good Bishop was most encouraged to publish this Apology by Peter Martyr (as appears by Martyr's letter of the 24th of August) with whom he had spent the greatest part of his time in exile. But Martyr only lived to see the book which he so much longed for, dying at Zurick, on the twelfth day of November following, after he had paid his thanks for, and expressed his value of this piece in a letter which is subjoyned to this book in all the following prints. And Mr. Camden also in his Annals expresly saith, this Apology was printed first in the year 1562.

In the year 1564. Mr. Harding put out a pretended answer to Bishop Jewel's famous challenge at Paul's Cross, mentioned above, to which in the year following the Bishop made a very learned reply, the epistle before which bears date at London the 27th of October of that year: the Bishop is said to have spent two years[5] in that piece. The same year the University of Oxon gave him (tho absent) the degree of Doctor of Divinity; and

[5] *Spent two years.*] This could hardly be, if Harding's *Answer* came out first in 1564. But in fact the privilege prefixed to that book bears date Jan. 15, 1563. The Epistle prefixed to Jewel's *Reply* is not dated 27th Oct. 1565, but, 6th August, 1565. The writer has also committed another mistake where, a little below, it is said that the *Defence* was finished Oct. 27, 1567; that is the date of the Epistle prefixed to the *second* Edition. Humfrey, p. 194, has given occasion to part of these errors. Harding's principal work against the Apology, intitled, *Confutation of a book called An Apology*, &c. came out in 1565, and not as Bishop Tanner and others have said, in 1563. The privilege prefixed is dated April 12, 1565. See also Jewel's Letter to Bullinger, in Strype's *Annals* Vol. I. p. 81. Records.

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certainly he well deserved to have that extraordinary respect and honour shewn him, who was so eminently imployed then in the service and defence of the Church.

He had no sooner brought this to a conclusion, but Harding was again upon him, and put out an Antapology, or answer to his *Apology for the Church of England.* A defence of which the Bishop forthwith began, which he finished, as appears by his epistle to Mr. Harding at the end of it, the 27th of October 1567.

The next year after Mr. Harding put out another piece, which he entitled, A detection of sundry foul errors, &c. which was a cavilling reply to some passages in his defence of the Apology, which not seeming to deserve an answer by it self, he answered rather by a preface to a new impression of his former defence, which he finished the eleventh of December 1569. and dedicated his works to the Queen; Harding having told the world that she was offended with Bishop Jewel for thus troubling the world.

The same year Pope Pius the Fourth having published a Bull of excommunication and deprivation against the Queen, Bishop Jewell undertook the defence of his Soveraign, and wrote a learned examination and confutation of that Bull; which was published by John Garbrand an intimate acquaintance of his, together with a short Treatise of the Holy Scriptures, both which, as he informs us, were delivered by the Bishop in his Cathedral Church in the year 1570.

Besides these he writ several other large pieces; as 1. a Paraphrastical Interpretation of the Epistles and Gospels throughout the whole year. 2ly. Diverse Treatises of the Sacraments, and Exhortations to the Readers. 3ly. Expositions of the Lords

Prayer, the Creed and Ten Commandments. And also 4ly. An Exposition upon the Epistle to the Galatians; the first of St. Peter, and both the Epistles to the Thessalonians; which I suppose were his Sermons: for he was of opinion (Humfrey p. 111.) that it was a better way of teaching, to go through with a book, than to take here and there a text; and that it gave the people a more clear and lasting knowledge.

In the beginning of the next year (April 5. 1571.) was a Parliament, and consequently a Convocation; when Thomas Cartwright and others of that faction, having alarmed the Church by their oppositions to the established Religion, it was thought fit to obviate their bold attempts, and thereupon command was given by the Arch-bishop, That all such of the lower house of convocation, who had not formerly subscribed unto the Articles of Religion agreed upon Anno 1562. should subscribe them now; or on their absolute refusal, or delay, be expelled the House: Which occasioned a general and personal subscription of those articles. And it was also farther ordered, that the book of articles so approved, should be put into print, by the appointment of the Right Reverend Doctor John Jewel then Bishop of Sarum; which shews he was there, and in great esteem.

It was in some part of this year also, that he had his conference, and preached his last sermon at Paul's Cross about the ceremonies and state of the Church, which he mentioned on his death-bed. But I cannot fix the precise time of either of them, or give any further account with whom that conference was. But, however this holy man sought nothing but the peace and welfare of the Church, by these gentle and mild ways of correption; the Dissenters of those times treated him for it with as little

little respect as Mr. Harding and his confraternity had before, as Bishop Whitgift assures us: his words are these, "They" (the Dissenters) "will not stick" (saith he), "in commending themselves, to deface all others, yea even that notable JEWEL, whose both labour and learning they do envy; and amongst themselves deprave, as I have heard with mine own ears, and a number more besides. For further proof whereof, I do refer you to the report, that by this faction was spread of him after his last sermon at Paul's Cross, because he did confirm the doctrine before preached by a famous and learned man touching obedience to the Prince and laws. It was strange (saith he) to me, to hear so notable a Bishop, so learned a man, so stout a champion of true religion, so painful a prelate, so ungratefully and spitefully used by a sort of wavering, wicked and wretched tongues: but it is their manner, be you never so well learned, never so painful, so zealous, so vertuous, all is nothing with them, but they will deprave you, rail on you, back-bite you, invent lyes of you, and spread false rumours, as though you were the vilest persons in the whole earth."

Thus writes[6] that venerable Arch-bishop in his Defence of the Answer to the Admonition, p. 423. upon occasion of a paper written also about this time by Bishop Jewel, upon certain frivolous objections against the government of the Church of England, made by Thomas Cartwright, which the Bishop had confuted; and Cartwright writing against him, Whitgift defended them in this place; and by the by shews how ill the good Bishop was treated for his last sermon at Paul's Cross, by this

[6] *Thus writes.*] Compare also Strype's *Life of Whitgift.* p. 57, 58.

generation

generation of vipers; which extorted from him that protestation he made on his death-bed, of which I shall give an account hereafter.

Being naturally of a spare and thin body, and thus restlesly trashing it out with reading, writing, preaching and travelling, he hastened his death, which happened before he was full fifty years of age; of which he had a strange perception[7] a considerable time before it happened, and wrote of it to several of his friends, but would by no means be perswaded to abate any thing of his former excessive labours, saying, A Bishop should die preaching.

Though he ever governed his diocess with great diligence, yet perceiving his death approaching, he began a new and more severe visitation[8] of it; correcting

7 *A strange perception.*] See Humfrey's Life, p. 86.

8 *A new and more severe visitation.*] Dr. Thomas James, in his learned and very valuable *Treatise of the Corruption of Scripture, Councils and Fathers for maintenance of Popery*, speaking of a passage of Pope Gregory's Epistles (Lib. 4. Epist. 38) says, "The Roman Edition with sundry others read most absurdly, contrary to the faith of the manuscripts, and the circumstance of the place, sacerdotum est præparatus exitus" (instead of *exercitus*) "as if this did betoken King Henry the eighth which first put priests to death."—By occasion of citing these words truly, according to St. Gregories meaning, and the antient copies, a very worthy and learned prelate (Bishop Jewel) was heretofore traduced and slandered among the Papists. I will relate the story, as it was told me by one that is yet living *(a)*, and knoweth it to be true; that you may see how the good Bishop was used amongst them. It happened, that in his visitation, he preached at Abingdon a religious town in Barkshire, not far from Oxford: whither went many to hear him from all parts of the country round about; and many came from the University of Oxford; of which number, some were scholars, that stood not so well affected in religion. In his Sermon,

(a) Mr. Fr. Mille, one of the Clerks of the Signet to his Majesty, at that time of good standing in All-Souls College, Fellow.

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recting the vices of the clergy and laity more sharply; injoining them in some places tasks of holy tracts to be learned by heart, conferring orders more carefully, and preaching oftener.

Having

as his text led him, he inveighed sharply against the Pope, his pride, his attendance, Priests, and Clergy: and amongst other places, of which he had great store, he urged this out of Gregory. The Sermon being done, home they come. And such as were popishly given, seeing that the Bishop insisted upon that place of Gregory, examined it with the printed books: and finding it not there, presently it is noised about the town, that the Bishop had made a foolish and untrue Sermon, built upon weak and false authorities; as might appear plainly by this one place of S. Gregory. For, he had turned cat into pan; alleaged the words otherwise than they were read in S. Gregory, He read *exercitus sacerdotum*, an army of Priests; where it was indeed in true Gregory, *exitus sacerdotum*, the killing and murdering of Priests, which should argue the coming of Anti-Christ; an argument, said they, of his false and untrue dealing in all points of doctrine. The words were spoken; they could not be denied. At hearing of these words, the Protestants were much dismayed, the Papists triumphed: but it was before the victory; as shortly after appeared. For this party of whom I received this information, being now a Gentleman of good place in the Commonwealth, and ever known to be honest of his word, and very religious, presently bethought himself of some course to stop their mouths, if it were possible. He turned divers *editions*, but still found *exitus*. In the end, it so pleased God, to put into his mind, to seek it in the *manuscripts*: and remembering that they had one in the Library, of good antiquity, in that college (All-Souls) whereof he then was Fellow, he did so; went up into the Library, found the words there as Bishop Jewel had reported them: which was no small comfort unto him. He stayed not long, went to his chamber, caused a note to be set up in public view, whereby he gave the whole University to understand, that whereas such a reverend Bishop, for a sermon by him lately preached was defamed and traduced, and namely for a sentence by him falsly alleaged, as was given forth, out of Gregory's Epistles: that this report of theirs was utterly untrue; the authority not changed by the Bishop, but by them into a sinister sense: for, so it was found in an antient *manuscript* in All-Souls College.

Which,

Having promised to preach at Lacock in Wiltshire, a gentleman who met him going thither, observing him to be very ill by his looks, advised him to return home, assuring him it was better the people should want one sermon, than to be altogether deprived of such a preacher. But he would not be perswaded, but went thither and preached his last sermon out of the fifth to the Galatians, Walk in the spirit, &c. which he did not finish without great labour and difficulty.

The Saturday following being the 22d. of September 1571. he piously and devoutly rendered up his soul into the hands of God, having first made a very devout and christian exhortation to those that were about him, and expressing much dislike of one of his servants who prayed for his recovery. He died[9] at Monketon farly, when he had been a Bishop

Which, if it pleased not them to credit his report, if they would come and see, they should have one ready to attend them, with the book. And upon this many came, were satisfied, and the Papists had not a word to say for themselves. This story, I have presumed to rehearse, that you may see the custom of Hereticks; which is, to charge others with corruptions, when themselves are most guilty." P. 230. edit. 1688.

[9] *He died.*] "Unto the end he ceased not to continue in the faith which he before professed. For, as I, one of many yet living, can testifie, in the day and night before his departure out of this world, he expounded the Lords Praier, and gave short notes upon the 71st. Psalm, to such as were by him. He thought good to say somewhat at that time, of his bookes written by him, and set forth in print, and also of his preaching. In both which services done by him to the glory of God, and thy *(the reader's)* comfort, he made protestation of his good conscience, which even then, as he declared, witnessed and should witnesse with him before God, that hee dealt simply and plainly, having God only before his eyes, and seeking the defense of the Gospel of Christ, and that the truth thereof might be opened and maintained. And farther gave thankes

Bishop almost twelve years; and was buried almost in the middle of the quire of his cathedral church, and Ægidius Lawrence preached his funeral sermon. He was extreamly bewailed by all men; and a great number of Latin, Greek and Hebrew verses were made on this occasion by learned men, which are collected

thankes to God that made him his servant in so great a worke; and then visited him by this messenger of death, while hee was doing the message of God, in visiting his Diocesse: that then he called him to rest from his labours, when his weake body was spent and worne out in setting foorth the glory of God, for which he many times praied, it would please God to let him be offered in sacrifice.

"Hee was at that time very fervent in praier; which he poured out before the Lord abundantly, and in great faith, crying often: *Lord let thy servant now depart in peace. Lord let thy servant now come to thee. I have not so lived, that I am ashamed to live: neither am I afraid to die, for we have a gracious Lord. There is laid up for mee a crowne of righteousnesse. Christ is my righteousnesse. Thy will be done O Lord, for mine is fraile:* with many other such godly speeches. In the extremitie of his disease he shewed great patience, and when his voice failed that he lay speechlesse, he lifted up his hands and eyes, in witnesse of his consent to those praiers, which were made. Thus being virtuously occupied, and wholly resting himselfe upon the mercies of God through Jesus Christ our Saviour, he rendred up his soule to God, the 23. of September 1571.

Be thou thankfull to God, for giving his Church so worthy an instrument of his glory: and be careful to follow the good doctrine, which he left behinde him." Carbrand's Preface to Jewel's *View of a Seditious Bull*, &c. A. D. 1582. Compare Humfrey's Life. p. 254—257.

That the memory of this mighty champion of the reformed faith should be infested by Popish calumnies will not be wondered at by those who have a moderate knowledge of the degree to which such practices have been carried in similar circumstances, for the purpose of discrediting the Protestant, and upholding the tottering cause of the Romish religion. Sometimes it was said, that at the hour of death he retracted his heresies, and returned to the Catholic faith. (Humfrey. p. 209.) At other times, having in his devotions in his last sickness "used the versicle of the hymn Te Deum, *O Lord, in Thee*

collected and printed by Mr. Lawrence Humfrey Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxon, in the end of his life written in Latin by the order of that University; nor has his name been since mentioned by any man, without such elogies and commendations as befitted so great, so good, so learned and laborious a prelate.

Having thus brought him to his grave, my reader may be pleased to permit me to collect some particular things which could not so well be inserted into the history of his life, without breaking the thread of it.

He had naturally a very strong memory, which he had strangely improved by art. Mr. Humfrey gives several examples of this, but I will instance in two only. John Hooper Bishop of Glocester, who was burnt in the reign of Queen Mary, once to try him, writ about forty Welsh and Irish words; Mr. Jewel going a little while aside, and recollecting them in his memory, and reading them twice or thrice over, said them by heart backward and forward exactly in the same order they were set down. And another time he did the same by ten lines of Erasmus his paraphrase in English, the words of which being read sometimes confusedly

Thee have I trusted, let me never be confounded, hereupon, suppressing the rest, they published, that the principal champion of the hereticks in his very last words cried he was confounded." Lord Bacon's Works. Vol. I. p. 356. But the most absurd story of all was, (as they told of Bucer, who walked often into the fields at Cambridge to visit a favourite Cow, which had been presented to him by the Dutchess of Suffolk, that he derived his learning from her,) that Jewel had a favourite and familiar Cat, or a Devil in that shape, from which he was inspired with all the powers of eloquence and argument, of which he was so largely possessed, to the bane of so many good and sound Catholics. Humfrey's Life, p. 259.

without

without order, and at other times in order by the Lord Keeper Bacon, Mr. Jewell thinking a while on them, presently repeated them again backward and forward, in their right order and in the wrong, just as they were read to him[1]; and he taught his tutor Mr. Parkhurst the same art.

Though his memory were so great and so improved, yet he would not intirely rely upon it, but entered down into common place books, whatever he thought he might afterwards have occasion to use; which, as the author of his life informs us, were many in number, and great in quantity, being a vast treasure of learning, and a rich repository of knowledge, into which he had collected sacred, profane, poetick, philosophick and divine notes of all sorts; and all these he had again reduced into a small piece or two, which were a kind of general indexes, which he made use of at all times when he was to speak or write any thing; which were drawn up in characters for brevity, and thereby so obscured, that they were not of any use, after his death, to any other person. And besides these, he ever kept diaries, in which he entered whatever he heard or saw that was remarkable; which once a year he perused, and out of them extracted what ever was more remarkable.

[1] *Read to him.*] The accounts of Jewel's tenacious memory, remarkable as they are, do not equal what is told, of the same faculty, in others; and, for instance, of Fuller, the Ecclesiastical Historian and Jester, it is said, that he could repeat five hundred unconnected words, after hearing them only twice; and that he would preach a sermon *verbatim*, which he had heard only once. Also, that in passing to and fro, from Temple-bar to the furthest end of Cheap-side, he once undertook to tell at his return every sign, as it stood in order, on both sides of the way, repeating them either backwards or forwards; and performed it exactly. Life of Dr. Thomas Fuller, 1661.

And

And from hence it came to pass, that whereas Mr. Harding in that great controversie they had, abounded only in words, Bishop Jewel overwhelmed him with a cloud of witnesses and citations out of the ancient fathers, councils, and church historians; confirming every thing with so great a number of incontestable authorities, that Mr. Harding durst never after pretend to a second perfect and full answer, but contented himself with snarling at some small pieces: the truth is, as Dr. Heylyn observes, all the following controversies were in this point beholding to the indefatigable industry of this great leader.

Yet he was so careful in the use of his own common place books, that when he was to write his Defence of the Apology, and his Reply, he would not trust intirely to his own excerpts or transcriptions, but having first carefully read Mr. Hardings books, and marked what he thought deserved an answer, he in the next place drew up the heads of his intended answer, and resolved what authorities he would make use of upon each head, and then by the directions of his common place book, read and marked all those passages he had occasion to make use of, and delivered them to some scholars to be transcribed under their proper heads, that he might have them together under his eye, when he came to write; which care and diligence of his speaks at once both his industry, fidelity, and modesty, in that he would not trust his own transcripts, and is a just reprehension of the falshood of those who knowingly make false citations, and of the supine negligence of those who take them up upon trust from other men, and use them without any examination; by which means great mistakes are made, and controversies spring up to the disturbance of the world. The truth is,

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a man ought to re-examine his own thoughts: for what may seem very pertinent at a first reading to any purpose, may prove otherwise upon second thoughts, and a close observation of what goes before, or follows after in the author; and few men are so exact in their first excerpts, but thro hast, inadvertence or mistake, they may more or less err and be deceived; not to say that a mans intention of mind is much exalted by the fixing it upon one particular object, and the expectation of a conviction from his adversary, in case he make the least mistake. This account of our venerable Bishop was given by one Mr. John Garbrand, who was intimately acquainted with him, in an epistle dedicatory before some of his sermons, printed in octavo, in the year 1583.

He was an excellent Grecian, and not unacquainted with the Italian tongue, and as to the Latin, he wrote and spoke it with that elegance, politeness, purity and fluency, that it might very well be taken for his mother tongue: and certainly he took the right course to be master of it, having made himself in his youth, perfectly master of Horace (upon whom he writ a large commentary) Tully and Erasmus, all whose voluminous and excellent works he read over, excerpted and imitated every day he lived, especially during his continuance at Oxon; and he was then wont also to declaim [a] extempore to himself in Latin in the woods and groves as he walked.

And

[a] *To declaim.*] "Fertur æstate in Sylvam Shptoverianam Oxoniæ proximam, aut in alium aliquem secessum proficisci consuevisse, ibique in solitudine quasi in Theatro declamitasse, a diores candidissimos oratione Græca, Latina, sua, aliena, Ciceroniana, Demosthenica compellasse: gestum, pronunciationem, vocem, vultum, omnia ad gravitatem et decorum temperâsse; ut non Juellum sed alterum Demosthenem in antro

And when the Lady Bacon wrote him a letter in Greek, he replied in the same language. He was excellently read in all the Greek poets, orators and historians, especially in the Ecclesiastical historians, and above all other, loved Gregory Nazianzen, and quoted him on all occasions.

His learning was much improved by his exile, in which, besides his conversation with Peter Martyr and the other learned men at Strasburgh and Zurick, and his society with Mr. Sands afterwards Archbishop of York, who was his bedfellow almost all the time they were in exile, his curiosity led him over the Alps into Italy, and he studied some time in Padua, and by the acquaintance he contracted with Seignior Scipio a great man, seems to have been very much esteemed there.

He was of a pleasant debonair humour, extreamly civil and obliging to all; but withall of great gravity, and of so severe a probity and virtue, that he extorted from his bitterest enemies a confession, that he lived the life of an angel: and tho he were lame, yet till his being a Bishop, he travailed for the most part a-foot, both at home and beyond the seas; he was contented in every condition, and endeavoured to make all others so, by telling them when he was in exile, that neither would their calamity last an age, neither was it reason they should bear no share of the cross of Christ, when their brethren in England fared so much worse.

He was so extream grateful to all that had done him good, that when he could not express his gratitude to Mr. Bowin his school-master, he paid

antro rhetoricantem, et literam caninum sonare conantem fuisse affirmares. Curiosam et affectatam eloquentiam in concioratoribus semper damnavit, et ipse, devitabit. Rhetor esse quam haberi maluit." Humfrey's Life. p. 24.

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it to his name, and did good to all that were so called for his sake, tho they were not related to that good man.

He was a most laborious preacher, always travelling about his diocess, and preaching where-ever he came; wherein he laboured to speak to the apprehensions of the people, hating all light gingling discourses and phrases, as beneath the dignity of that sacred place; yet he was carefull here too in the choice of his words and endeavoured to move the affections of his auditory by pathetick and zealous applications, avoiding all high-flown expressions, and using a grave and sedate, rather than sweet way of speaking, and never venturing in the meanest auditory to preach extempore [3].

Mr. Humfrys, who was himself a Calvinist, (as Mr. Camden informs us in his annals,) has done what he could, (p. 111.) to represent Bishop Jewell as a favourer [4] of our English dissenters: but it is certain he opposed them in his exile, when they began the stirs at Frankford; and the last publick act he did in all his life, was to reprehend them severely, in a sermon preached at Paules Cross, which I take to be the last sermon, printed

[3] *To preach extempore.*] This it should seem, is affirmed on insufficient authority. His famous Sermon at Paul's Cross A. D. 1560, purports in the title, to be "set forth, as neere as the author *could call it to remembrance*, without any alteration or addition."

[4] *A favourer.*] Yet Humfrey himself fell under the displeasure of Jewel for his Puritanical scruples. In 1565, being presented to a Living in the Diocese of Sarum by Horn, bishop of Winchester, Jewel refused to give him institution, writing to the Archbishop, "That in respect of his vain contention about apparell, he thought best to make a stay till he understood his Graces pleasure; and that unless he should otherwise advise him by his letter, he minded not in any wise to receive him: adding, that his long sufferance bred great offence." Strype's *Annals* Vol. II. p. 464.

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in the collection of his works in 1609; and to defend the rites and ceremonies of the church against them; both which he mentioned on his death-bed in these words. "My last sermon at Paules Cross in London, and the conferrence I held with some brethren concerning the ceremonies and present state of our church, was not undertaken to please any mortal man, or to exasperate or trouble those that thought otherwise than I did; but least either party should prejudice the other, and that the love of God through the operation of the Holy Ghost which is given to us, might be shed abroad in our hearts." To which he wisely subjoyns his opinion, that these contentions were kindled and fomented by the popish party; as is well known now. The truth is, the schism was then in its rise; and those great impostures Coleman, Button, and Hallingham, which were nothing but popish priests [5] in the masquerade of puritan preachers, being severely corrected in the year 1568, there was no great motion made by that party, till the Parliament held in the thirteenth year of the Queen, April 2. 1570. had confirmed the articles of the church by act of Parliament: and subscription thereupon, being more severely urged than before, many dissenters kept their private meetings in woods, fields, their friends houses, &c. as Fuller from Tho. Cartwrights second Reply, p. 38. informs us. These disorders in all probability occasioned the sermon at Paules Cross, and the conference at London, which happened not long before his death, and probably after this

[5] *Nothing but Popish Priests.*] [The Preface to the first Tome of Collections by Dr. Nalson.] See also Strype's *Annals* Vol. I. p. 521, 2. Strype's *Life of Parker.* p. 244—246. Maddox *against Neal* p. 181—186. Usher's *Letters* p. 611, 612, and p. 27, 28. Appendix.

Session

Session of Parliament, which the bishop survived but six months. So that if the Bishop "did rarely and unwillingly preach any thing concerning the rites and indifferent parts or circumstances of religion," as our author (Humfrey) tells us, it was because he had no great occasions given him: but what he thought of these men, will best appear from the sermon I mentioned above; his words are these. "By whose name shall I call you? I would I might call you brethren; but alas this heart of yours is not brotherly: I would I might call you christians; but alas you are no christians. I know not by what name I shall call you: for if you were brethren, you would love as brethren: if you were christians, you would agree as christians." So that he could have no good opinion of those whom he every where in that sermon stiles, proud, self-conceited, disobedient, and unquiet men, who did not deserve the title of brethren or christians. What would he have said if he had lived in our days?

Besides confuting[6] some of the seditious doctrines of Thomas Cartwright, who became famous by his admonition to the Parliament; in the year following the Bishop said, Stultitia nata est in corde pueri, et virga disciplinæ fugabit illam. (Prov. 22. 15.) Which shews he was no encourager of faction by lenity and toleration; tho he was a man of great moderation otherwise, and expressed a great sense of the frailties of mankind in other

[6] *Besides confuting.*] [In a short paper written by this good Bishop against certain frivolous objections made against the Government of the Church of England, Printed at London 1641. Bishop Whitgift in the defence of the Answer to the Admonition, tells us, Cartwright was the man; and that hereupon the faction used the Bishop most ungratefully and despitefully, p. 423.]

instances; as appears by his letter to Dr. Parkhurst when Bishop of Norwich. "Let your Chancellor" (saith he) "be harder, but you easier; let him wound, but do you heal; let him lance, do you plaister: wise clemency will do more good than rigid severity; one man may move more with an engine, than six with the force of their hands." And accordingly he would often sit in his own consistory with his Chancellor, hearing, considering, and sometimes determining causes concerning matrimony, adultery, and testaments, &c. not thinking it safe to commit all to the sole care and fidelity of his Chancellor and Officials. But though as a Justice of peace he often sate in the courts of quarter-sessions, yet here he very rarely interposed, except his judgment were desired concerning some scruple of religion, or some other such-like difficulty. So exact was his care, not to entangle himself with secular affairs; and yet not to be wanting to his duty in any case.

Tho he came to a Bishoprick miserably impoverished and wasted, yet he found means to exercise a prodigious liberality and hospitality. For the first, his great expence in the building a fair library for his cathedral Church, may be an instance, which his successor Dr. Gheast furnished with books, whose name is perpetuated, together with the memory of his predecessor by this inscription. "Hæc Bibliotheca extructa est sumptibus. R. P. ac D. D. JOHANNIS JEWELLI, quondam Sarum Episcopi; instructa vero libris à R. in Christo P. D. Edmundo Gheast, olim ejusdem Ecclesiæ Episcopo; quorum memoria in Benedictione erit. A. D. 1578."

His doors stood always open to the poor, and he would frequently send his charitable reliefs to prisoners; nor did he confine his bounty to English men only, but was liberal to Foreigners, and especially

cially to those of Zurick, and the friends of Peter Martyr.

But perceiving the great want of learned men in his times, his greatest care was to have ever with him in his house half a dozen or more poor lads which he brought up in learning; and took much delight to hear them dispute points of grammar-learning in Latin at his table when he was at his meal, improving them, and pleasing himself at the same time.

And besides these, he maintained in the University several young students, allowing them yearly pensions; and when ever they came to visit him, rarely dismissed them without liberal gratuities. Amongst these was the famous Mr. Richard Hooker his country-man, whose parents being poor he must have been bound apprentice to a trade, but for the bounty of this good Bishop, who allowed his parents a yearly pension towards his maintenance, well near seven years before he was fit for the University; and in the year 1567, appointed him to remove to Oxford and there to attend Dr. Cole then President of Corpus Christi College, who according to his promise to the Bishop, provided him a tutor, and a clerk's place in that College; which with a contribution from his uncle Mr. John Hooker, and a continued pension of his patron the Bishop, gave him a comfortable subsistance: and in the last year of the Bishops life, Mr. Hooker making this his patron a visit at his palace, the good Bishop made him, and a companion he had with him, dine at his own table with him, which Mr. Hooker boasted of with much joy and gratitude, when he saw his mother and friends, whither he was then travelling a foot. The Bishop when he parted with him, gave him good counsel and his blessing, but forgot to give

him money; which when the Bishop bethought himself of, he sent a servant to call him back again, and then told him, "I sent for you Richard, to lend you a horse which hath carried me many a mile, and I thank God with much ease." And presently delivered into his hand a walking-staff, with which he professed he had travelled many parts of Germany; and then went on and said, "Richard, I do not give but lend you my horse; be sure you be honest and bring my horse back to me at your return this way to Oxford; and I do now give you ten groats to bear your charges to Exeter; and here is ten groats more which I charge you to deliver to your mother, and tell her, I send a Bishops blessing with it, and beg the continuance of her Prayers for me. And if you bring my horse back to me, I will give you ten more to carry you on foot to the College; and so God bless you good Richard." It was not long after this, before this good Bishop died; but before his death he had so effectually recommended Mr. Hooker to Edwin Sandys then Bishop of London, and after Archbishop of York, that about a year after he put his son under the tutelage of Mr. Hooker, and was otherwise so liberal to him, that he became one of the learnedest men of the age; and as Bishop Jewel foiled the papists, so this Mr. Hooker in his books of Ecclesistical Polity, gave the Dissenters such a fatal defeat, as they never yet could, nor ever shall be able to recover from. Nor was Mr. Hooker ungrateful; but having occasion to mention his good benefactor in that piece he calls him (Bishop Jewel) "the worthiest divine that Christendom hath bred for the space of some hundreds of years." (Book 2. §. 6.)

But to return to Bishop Jewel. He had collected an excellent library of books of all sorts, not excepting

excepting the [7] most impertinent of the popish authors; and here it was that he spent the greatest and the best part of his time, rarely appearing abroad, especially in a morning till eight of the clock; so that till that time it was not easy to speak with him; when commonly he eat some slight thing for the support of his thin body; and then, if no business diverted him, retired to his study again till dinner.

He maintained a plentiful, but sober table; and though at it he eat very little himself, yet he took care his guests might be well supplied, entertaining them in the mean time with much pleasant and useful discourse, telling and hearing any kind of innocent and diverting stories: for tho he was a man of a great and exact, both piety and Virtue, yet he was not of a morose, sullen, unsociable temper; and this his hospitality was equally bestowed upon both foreigners and English men.

After dinner he heard causes, if any came in; and dispatched any business that belonged to him (though he would sometimes do it at dinner too;) and answered any Questions, and very often arbitrated

[7] *Not excepting.*] Cole taxing Jewel in these words, "I see yee write much, and read little," the Bishop replies; "How are yee so privie to my reading? Wise men avouch no more than they know. Yee lackt shift when yee were driven to write thus. I assure you I have not been so slacke a student these twenty yeeres" (This is written in the year 1560), "but that besides other old writers of divers sorts, Greeke and Latin, I have not spared to read over, even such as have written of your side, as Roffensis, Pigghius, Hosmasterus, Eckius, Hossius, and such others; and yet, untill this day I never set abroad in print twenty lines. But this is your old wont, to make the people thinke that we reade nothing else but two-pennie doctors, as yee call them. As in the disputation at Westminster, yee would seeme to stand in doubt, whether we were able to understand you or no, when ye spake a little Latin." Jewel's *Works*. p. 23, 24. See also Humfrey's *Life of Jewel*. p. 250.

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and composed differences betwixt his people, who knowing his great wisdom and integrity, did very often refer themselves to him as the sole arbitrator, where they met with speedy, impartial, and unchargeable Justice.

At nine at night he called all his servants about him, examined how they had spent their time that day, commended some, and reproved others, as occasion served, and then closed the day with prayers, as he began it: the time of his publick morning prayers seems to have been eight.

After this, he commonly went to his study again, and from thence to bed, his gentlemen reading some part of an author to him, to compose his Mind; and then committing himself to his God and Saviour, he betook himself to his rest.

He was extream careful of the revenues of the church, not caring whom he offended to preserve it from impoverishing in an age, when the greatest men, finding the Queen not over liberal[8] to her courtiers and Servants, too often paid themselves out of the church patrimony, for the services they had done the crown, till they ruined some Bishop-

[8] *Not over liberal.*] "My good old Mistress was wont to call me her *watch-candle*, because it pleased her to say, I did continually burn: *and yet she suffered me to waste almost to nothing.*" Sir F. Bacon to King James. A. D. 1612.

"A company of young Courtiers appeared extraordinary gallant at a Tilting, far above their fortunes and estates, giving for their Motto, *Solvat Ecclesia.* Bishop Bancroft, then of London hearing of it, finds on enquiry that the Queen was passing a considerable parcel of Church-lands to them; and stops the business with his own and his friends interest, leaving these Gallants to pay the shot of their pride and prodigality out of their own purses." Lloyd's *State Worthies.* p. 766. Compare Bancroft's *Survey of the Pretended Holy Discipline.* p. 211.

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ricks intirely, and left others so very poor, that they are scarce able to maintain a prelate.

There is one instance of this mentioned by all that have written our Bishops life; a courtier who (who was a lay-man) obtained a prebendary in the church of Sarisbury, and intending to lett it to another lay-person for his best advantage, acquainted Bishop Jewel with the conditions between them; and some lawyers opinion about them. To which the Bishop replied; "What your lawyers may answere I know not; but for my part, to my power, I will take care that my church shall sustain no loss whilst I live." What was the event of this, none of them have told us.

Nor was he careful of his own church only, but of the whole English Church, as appears by his sermon upon Psalm 69. v. 9. *The zeal of thine house hath eaten me up,* which he preached before the Queen and Court; as appears by it in several addresses to her in the body of that sermon. In it he hath this observation. "In other countries the receiving of the Gospel hath always been the cause that learning was more set by; and learning hath ever been the furtherance of the Gospel. In England, I know not how it cometh otherwise to pass, for since the Gospel hath been received, the maintenance for learning hath been decayed; and the lack of learning will be the decay of the Gospel." And a little after he tells us, "Those that should be fosters of learning, and increase the livings, had no zeal. What said I, increased? Nay the livings and provisions which heretofore were given to this use, are (saith he) taken away." And a little after, "Whereas all other labourers and artificers have their hire encreased double as much as it was wont to be; only the poor man that laboureth and sweateth in the vineyard of the Lord of Hosts, hath

hath his hire abridged and abated." And he applies himself towards the conclusion thus to the great men, "You inriched them which mocked and blinded and devoured you; spoil not them now that feed and instruct and comfort you."

I had not taken the pains to transcribe so much of this excellent discourse, which may easily enough be read by any that desire it in his works, but to raise a little consideration [9] if it be possible, in this debauched age. This good man foretold here, that this sacrilegious devastation of the church would in time be the ruine of the Gospel, as he calls the Reformation, and so it came pass: for whereas he observed then, that by reason of the impropriations, the vicarages in many places, and in the properest market towns were so simple, that no man could live upon them, and therefore no man would take them, but the people were forced to provide themselves as they might with their own money; the consequence of this in a few years was, that these mercenary men becoming factious, or being such, crept into such places out of hopes of the greater advantage; and so infected the minds of the trades-men, that as the church became very much weakened and disquieted by their factions; so our Parliaments in a little while became stuft with a sort of lay-brethren who were enemies both to the church and crown, which

[9] *To raise a little consideration.*] It is greatly to be regretted, that this consideration is almost as much wanting in these times, as it was when this Life was drawn up.—In connection with this subject the Editor begs leave to recommend to the perusal of those who may have power and influence to diminish the evils alluded to, Kennets *Case of Impropriations, and of the Augmentation of Vicarages and other insufficient Cures*, A. D. 1704. See also Malham's *Historical View of the unavoidable causes of the Non-residence of the Parochial Clergy*. A. D. 1801.

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was a great part of the occasion of the rebellion in 1640, in which many of those families whose ancestors had risen by the spoils of the church were ruined: and tho much care was taken upon the restitution of his late Majesty Charles the second, for the prevention of such mischiefs for the future, yet no care was taken of these livings in market towns and corporations; by which means it came to pass, that within about twenty years more, we were very fairly disposed for another change, and nothing but God prevented it. From whence I conclude, that till this leak is stopped, both church and crown will be in danger of a shipwrack.

There is fixed upon the Bishops grave-stone, a plate of brass with the arms of his family, and this following inscription.

D.

Johanni Jewello Anglo Devoniensi ex Antiqua Juellorum familia Budenæ Oriundo; Academiæ Oxoniensis Laudatissimo Alumno: Mariana tempestate per Germaniam Exuli; Præsuli Regnante Elizabetha Regina Sarisburiensis Diocoeseos (cui per Annos XI. Menses IX. summa fide & integritate præfuit) Religiosissimo: Immaturo fato Monktonfarleæ prærepto XXIII. Sept. Anno salutis humanæ Christi Merito Restitutæ 1571. & Ætatis suæ 49. Positum est Observantiæ ergo Hoc Monumentum.

This epitaph was drawn for him by Mr. Humfrey, and much more; which in probability could not be all put upon the brass: but yet he took care to publish it at large in his life of the Bishop, from whence I have transcribed it, which is in these words.

Joanni

D.

Joanni Juello Anglo, Devoniensi,
Ex antiqua Juellorum Familia Budenæ oriundo,
Academiæ Oxoniensis Laudatissimo Alumno;
Mariana Tempestate per Germaniam Exuli;
Præsuli,
Regnante Elizabetha Regina,
Sarisburiensis Diœceseos,
(Cui per Annos XI. menses IX. summa fide
& integritate præfuit.)
Religiosissimo; viro singulari eruditione,
Ingenio Acutissimo, judicio gravissimo,
Pietate, Humanitate egregie
Prædito;
Theologiæ cum primis cognitione
Instructissimo;
Gemmæ Gemmarum;
Immaturo fato Monkton-farleæ Prærepto;
Sarisburiæ Sepulto;
Cœlorum civi.
Laurentius Humfredus
Hoc Monumentum observantiæ ergo
Et Benevolentiæ Consecravit,
Anno salutis Humanæ
Christi Merito Restitutæ
MDLXXI. ix. Kal. Oct.
Vixit Annos XLIX. menses IV.
Psal. 112.
In memoria æterna erit Justus.

A Letter

A Letter written to the Reverend Father in God Dr. John Jewel Lord Bishop of Sarisbury, by Dr. Peter Martyr.

By the favour of the Bishop of London (most worthy Prelate and my very good Lord) there was brought me one of your Apologies for the Church of England; which neither I nor any others hereabouts before had seen: It is true in your last Letter you rather intimated that it might come out, than signified that it should; but however it came not hither till about the middle of July. And from hence your Lordship may consider how much we suffer from the distance of places. It hath not only given me an intire satisfaction, who approve and am strangely pleased with all you do; but to Bullinger and his sons, and sons in law: and it seems so very wise, admirable and elegant to Gualter and Wolphius, that they can put no end to their commendations of it, as not thinking there hath been any thing printed in these times of so great a perfection. I do infinitely congratulate this great felicity of your parts, this exeellent edification of the Church, and the honour you have done your country; and I do most earnestly beseech you to go on in the same way; for tho we have a good cause, yet the defenders of it are few in comparison of its enemies; and they now seem so awakened, that they have of late won much upon the ignorant multitude, by the goodness of their stile, and the subtilty of their sophistry. I speak this of Staphylus and Hosius, and some other writers of that party, who are now the stout champions of the papal errors. But now you have by this your most elegant and learned Apology, raised such an hope in the minds of all good and learned men, that they

they generally promise themselves, that whilst you live, the reformed religion shall never want an advocate against its enemies. And truly I am extreamly glad, that I am so happy as to live to see that day which made you the father of so illustrious and eloquent a production. May the God of heaven of his goodness grant that you may be blessed in time with many more such.

Zurick, Aug. 24.
1562.

BERNARD GILPIN.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The Life of Bernard Gilpin, written in Latin by Carleton, Bishop of Chichester, who had been one of Gilpin's Scholars at Houghton, was translated into English, and published in the year 1629, under the following title; *The Life of Mr. Bernard Gilpin, some times Parson of Houghton in the Bishopricke of Durham, a man for his singular piety and integritie famous, and renowned over all the Northerne parts of this Kingdom of England, faithfully collected and written in Latine, by the right reverend Father in God George Carleton, late Lord Bishop of Chichester, and published for the satisfaction of his Countrimen, by whom it was long since earnestly desired; translated by William Freake Minister. London printed by William Jones, dwelling in Red-Crosse-Street.* 1629. This translation has since passed through three or four editions. The present is printed intire from that of the year 1629. The original Latin makes a part of Bates's *Vitæ Selectorum aliquot Virorum* &c *Londin*: 1681, 4to.

GEORGE BISHOP OF CHICHESTER,

TO

WILLIAM BELUSIS KNIGHT,

Wisheth Salvation in Christ.

IF in the Church of God, there were many such as Mr. Gilpin was, I should holde it needlesse, to recommend the memoriall of this man unto the world. But seeing there are so few, or (to speak freely what I think) none at all, who (following the rule of so rare a piety, and sanctimony) have propounded so notable an example, to all those who doe aspire to a blessed life, and constantly walked in the same, I conceive that such a patterne, would kindle the zeale of many good men, to walke in so faire a way, though happily they were not able to attaine to the perfection thereof. Examples of the like piety in holy men we have heard of many in auncient histories, and often read of them in their writings, but in men of this our age it is not to be found. For so farre short are we from this zeale in furtherance of piety, that now it is to be feared, lest religion (so eagerly and joyfully undertaken, and professed at first) will come to be even loathed, and rejected of many, and so finally come to confusion: seeing experience of former times hath confirmed this truth unto us, that profanesse of life and manners hath drawne withall the ruine of Religion, thereby to give us a taste now of what it is like to doe hereafter. Now

we make no doubt, but (in so great a decay of auncient holines) Mr. Gilpin's name (like the Owle amongst other Birds) when it comes abroad will prove hatefull to many; Yet I held this no sufficient reason why to suppresse it: Wherein though some pick out matter for their derision and scorne, yet some may meete with matter for their admiration, others for their Imitation to work on. As for you (Worthy Sir) you hereby injoy the harvest of your earnest and often desire. Many yeeres this writing hath lyne by me from the common view; the edition whereof I did therefore of purpose defer, to prevent them, who may seeme to stand at a distance farre off from this forme of holinesse, from judging themselves prejudized hereby. But as my purpose is to further all, as much as I might, so it was not to hurt any. If any good or furtherance redound to any by this my labour, he must thank you, whose importunity hath extorted it, such as it is, out of my hands. And seeing you live in the very place, wherein Mr. Gilpin's whole life and worth are best knowne, and your selfe have beene so earnest with me for the same, this very carefull desire of yours to preserve and perpetuate Mr. Gilpin's memory, is a most pregnant proofe and an undeniable testimony of the ingenuity and goodnesse of your own minde: which worthy disposition of yours hath commanded me to dedicate this little work to your name, to stand for ever as a pledge of your Religious affection to Mr. Gilpin, and my true love unto you. So Fare you well.

TO THE

VERTUOUS MEMORY

OF

Mr. BERNARD GILPIN,

His Reverend Kinsman, sometimes Parson of Haughton.

SHEW me that man who can, one amongst ten,
Who did as this man did, this man of men,
Who ne're knew Symony, that spreading Tetter,
Which makes the bribes-swolne soule the Devils debtor,
Who e'er encountred with so many theeves,
Unript their rankling sores, an' cur'd their grieves!
For gifts so richly rare, for wit so quick,
And would refuse a proffer'd Bishoprick!
Who made the poore his children, eas'd their need,
And fed the hungry with the staffe of bread!
To blind, to lame, to sick, to sore, to poore,
An eye, a stay, a care, a cure, a shower,
To right, to reare, to cure, to cheer, to water,
And shew the temper of his gen'rous nature!
Finde me out such a man, North, East, South, West,
Unlesse you rake him from the Phœnix nest.
Now trust me these rare vertues make me proud,
Deep-stamp'd in this grave Patriot of my blood:
Who though translated from the paths of men,
And now translated by an English pen,
Yet shall the substance of his inward shrine
Out-live the vading period of time:
For these sweet odours shall preserve his fame,
So long as Kent from Kentmire takes his name.

Dignum laude virum
Musa vetat mori.
Cœlo beat.

Acts. 20. 28. 29.

Take heed therefore unto your selves, and to the whole flocke, whereof the holy Ghost hath made you Overseers, to feed the Church of God whereof he hath purchased with that his owne blood.

For I know this, that after my departing shall grievous wolves enter in among you, not sparing the flocke.

Philip. 3. 18. 19.

For many walke of whom I have tolde you often, and now tell you weeping, that they are the enemies of the Crosse of Christ:

Whose end is damnation, whose God is their belly, and whose glory is to their shame, which minde earthly things.

BERNARD GILPIN.

BERNARD GILPIN was borne at Kentmire in the County of Westmorland in the yeare of our Lord 1517. of an ancient and honourable family[1], being the son of Edwin Gilpin, the elder brother of which Edwin was slain in the battle of Bosworth, being heire in the fifth descent to Richard Gilpin, who in the Raign of King John was enfeoffed in the Lordship of Kentmire hall by the Baron of Kendall for his singular deserts both in peace and warre. This was that Richard Gilpin who slew the wilde Boore, that rageing in the mountaines adjoyning, as sometimes did that of Erimanthus, had much indammaged the Country-people: whence it is that the Gilpins in their Coate Armes give the Boore. The Mother of Bernard Gilpin was Margaret the Daughter of William Laton of Delamain in Cumberland, a man of an ancient house, and a family famous in that warlike age, as from whence had sprung many right valiant Gentlemen.

This Bernard being yet a very childe gave testimony of future holinesse upon this occasion. A certaine begging Frier[2] the better to dispose the hearts of the people to liberality towards him, pro-

[1] *Ancient and honourable family.*] Nicolson's and Burn's *History of Westmorland and Cumberland*, Vol. I. p. 135.

[2] *A certaine begging Frier.*] Compare *The Vision of Pierce Ploughman*, fol. 65, 66. edit. 1550.

fessed

fessed himselfe a Zealous Preacher: howbeit the Friers of those dayes, and that ranke were but a sordid and dishonest people; some of them, yea the greatest part labouring for a forme of holinesse, but denying the power of it in their lives and conversations, whereas others of them retained not so much as an outside thereof. This wandring companion was come upon the Saturday to the house of this Gilpins Father, as purposing to preach the next morrow, being the Lords day, where he was enterteined respectively enough; for at that time it was a sinne unpardonable to offend the least of these locusts. The holy Frier at supper time eate like a glutton, and like a beast could not give over tossing the pot, untill being overcome with drinke he exposed himselfe a shamefull spectacle to so chast and sober a family. But in the morning as if he had beene some young Saint lately dropped from heaven, he causeth the Bell to towle to the Sermon; and in the midst thereof blustering out certaine good words, he presumed to grow hot against some sinnes of the time, and amongst the rest to thunder bouldly against drunkennesse. Young Gilpin who had but newly got the use of his tongue, having observed (as it seemed) the hatefull basenesse of the man by his oversight the night before, and now hearing the beast cry out so loud against these crimes which himselfe had so lately beene guilty of, as he was sitting neere to his Mothers lap in the Church sodainly crieth out in these words: " O Mother, doe you heare how this fellow dare speak against drunkennesse, who was drunke himselfe yesternight at our house?" The Mother made speed to stop the childes mouth with her hand, that he might speake no further.

After this the parents of the boy perceiving his disposition, by many evident testimonies, were diligently

gently careful to make him a scholler. He had a schoolfellow, one Edwin Airy, whom afterwards he loved intirely for his good disposition and approoved honesty: But Gilpin did farre excell the rest in acutenesse of wit. Having therefore with great approbation passed his time in the Grammar-schoole, he is by his parents, (who had now conceived great hope of their sonne) sent to Oxford.

At that time in Oxford both learning and Relligion were in all things out of joynt, and overgrown with the rust of Barbarisme. And now was young Gilpin sixteene yeares of age at his comming to Oxford, being in the yeare of our Lord 1533. Being entred in Queenes College, he profited wondrously in humane learning: He became, as almost all the good wits of that time were, very conversant in the writings of Erasmus. He fell very close to the study of Logick and Philosophy, wherein he was observed to grow excellent, and to beare away the bell in schooles. He added to this his humane learning, the singular knowledge of the Greeke and Hebrew, wherein he made use of the assistance and friendship of one Neale, betwixt whom and this Gilpin was growne much familiarity by the affinity of their studies. This Neale[3] was a Fellow of New-College, and afterwards Professour of the Hebrew in Oxford.

And

[3] *This Neale.*] This man is now remembered only for the share he had in propagating the absurd, and oft-refuted falshood of the Consecration of Archbishop Parker, and other the first Protestant bishops in Q. Elizabeth's time, at the Nags-Head Tavern, in Cheapside.—That story, I say, has been many times thoroughly examined; and proved, as often, (by Francis Mason, Bishop Bramhall, Bishop Burnet, Thomas Browne, &c. &c.) to be a "late-invented, inconsistent, self-contradicting, and absurd Fable:" and yet a work has recently been re-published in Ireland, to which between one and two

And now after some few yeares carefully spent in these studies Gilpin began to be so famous, and so beloved in Oxford, that there was hardly any place of preferment for a scholler, whereof the eminency of Gilpin's vertue had not rendred him worthy in the publick estimation. There was then an enquiry made for men of more then ordinary learning and fame, who might make up a number of schollers in Christ-Church at that time newly begun, and honour it with the commendation of learning. Amongst these was our Gilpin one of the first elected.

At that time he had not fully attained to truth and sincerity in Relligion, as having beene alwayes instructed in the traditions of the Church of Rome; for in those dayes the most part of men did not regulate their Relligion and piety by the rule of Gods word, but according to the Traditions of their Fathers received from hand to hand. His minde although disposed to holinesse did for a while remaine in darknesse, and being overclouded with

two hundred Roman Catholic Priests have suffered their names to be prefixed as patrons, in which this matter is once more revived, without one word of apology, exception or retractation; and the validity of all the ordinances and offices by all the ministers of the Church of England is openly and daringly denied, and that denial is accompanied by an overflow of the grossest and most virulent invectives against Protestantism and Protestants, that an unchristian and malignant temper ever suggested. —What the designs of the Patrons of such a work can be, at this time, it is not for me to say; but it is a circumstance which ought to give pain to every good man, Protestant or Papist, to find that there are so many individuals, professing to be preachers of a Gospel of Truth and Love, who have been induced to sanction with the authority of their names the falshoods, malignity and intolerance, and all the manifold outrages against Christian Truth and Christian Morals, in which the book in question (Ward's *Errata of the Protestant Bible*, &c.) abounds.

prejudiciall

prejudiciall respects laboured under the burthen of superstition not without some shadow of Antiquity; being more earnest against vices and corruptions of the time, then against the traditions of the Fathers. Therefore at that time Gilpin seemed a great uphoulder of the Popish Relligion. He held disputation publickly against John Hooper, who was afterwards Bishop of Worcester, and at the last a glorious Martyr of Christ. After the death of King Henry the eight, when Edward the sixt was King, Peter Martyr induced by the piety and Munificence of such a Prince read the Divinity Lecture in Oxford. Against whom the Sophisters indeavoured to make opposition, Chedsey, Weston, and Morgan, who desired also to draw in Gilpin on their side, that by his advise and help they might the more distract Peter Martir: and the matter at last came to this push, that Gilpin was produced to hould disputation against the positions of Peter Martir. Upon occasion of which dispute Gilpin, to the end that he might defend his cause in hand adventureth more diligently than ordinary to examine the Scriptures and the auncient Fathers: And by how much the more he studied to defend the cause which he had undertaken, so much the lesse confidence he began to have therein, because he supposed that he ought to stand for the truth, which he strove with all his might to discover and finde out. But whiles he was zealously searching for the truth, he began by little and little to have a sight of his owne errours. Whereupon Peter Martir was wont often to say, that he was not much troubled either for Weston, Morgan, or the like, but as for that Gilpin, (saith he) I am very much mooved concerning him, for he doth and speaketh all things with an upright heart. The rest seeme to me to be men, who regard their bellies

bellies most of all, and being most unconstant are carried away as it were with every blast of ambition and covetousnesse. But Gilpin resting firmely upon gravity of manners, and the testimony of a most laudable life seemeth to honour with his owne goodnesse the cause which he undertaketh. Yea, and he did often pray unto God that he would be pleased at the last to convert unto his truth the heart of Gilpin, being so inclinable to all honest desires. And doubtlesse God heard the prayer of Peter Martir: For from that time forward Gilpin drew neere to the knowledge of the truth, not upon a sodaine, but as himselfe confessed, by degrees.

Peter Martir had much illuminated Oxford with the truth of Divinity and the knowledge of humane learning. Whereupon Gilpin resolved more earnestly to apply himselfe both by study and prayer to search out the truth. To which purpose he determined to put in writing the disputation which had beene betwixt himselfe and Hooper. But in the expressing and unfoulding of the said controversie, while he dwelt for a time upon an accurate examination of the points which he had resolved to confute, whiles he searcheth them to the bottome, and regulateth the institutions of the Church to the authority of Scripture, without which he well understood that there could be no true Church at all, he felt himselfe easily overcome, and was not sory to be overcome by the truth. Those draughts, being found amongst Mr. Gilpin's writings reserved in his private deske, doe testifie his ingenuous and free confession, together with the power of the truth and Gods great mercy in his conversion. Whiles he curiously pryeth into the Popish relligion, he was inforced to acknowledge that very many errors were crept into the

the Church which hinder and obscure the matter of our salvation, insomuch that they are no small offence to as many as hunger and thirst after righteousnesse and the knowledge of the truth. He discovered many corruptions and changes of sound doctrine: he found not so much as a word touching seven Sacraments before Peter Lumbard: and that the use of the Supper was delivered under one kinde onely contrary to expresse Scriptures: that Transubstantiation was a devise of the Schoole-men: that the doctrine of the worke wrought called *Opus operatum*, was newly risen: that the Masse was turned from a Sacrament to a Sacrifice: that in the Church wherein all things were ordeined for the edification of the people, all things were now done, to the non-edification of them: that the adoration of Images was instituted against the expresse commandement of God. Demurring for a while as distracted with these thoughts, behold the rule of faith lately changed in the Councel of Trent utterly astonished him. For he had observed out of the auncient Writers as well as out of the later ones, Lumbard, Scotus, Aquinas, and the rest, that the rule of faith was to be drawne onely from the holy Scriptures, but in the Councel of Trent he beheld humane traditions made equall[4] with the Scriptures. And seeing he understood these traditions to be nothing else but peevish and crosse expositions of

[4] *Traditions made equall*] "Sacrosancta œcumenica et generalis Tridentina Synodus, in Spiritu Sancto legitime congregata ——— omnes libros tam veteris quam novi Testamenti, cum utriusque unus Deus sit auctor, nec non *traditiones ipsas*, tum ad fidem, tum ad mores pertinentes, tanquam vel ore tenus a Christo, vel a Spiritu Sancto dictatas, et continua successione in Ecclesia Catholica conservatas, *pari pietatis affectu, ac reverentia suscipit, et veneratur.—Si quis traditiones prædictas sciens et prudens contemserit, anathema sit.*" Concilii Trident: Canones et Decreta. Sess: 4th.

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the holy Scriptures, devised by the Bishops of Rome, and thrust in among the Decretall Epistles, as also that the said Decretall Epistles were meerely feigned and suppositious, as is confirmed by the testimonies of many learned men. and indeed by the confession of the very Papists themselves is acknowledged to be out of all doubt, this so great a confusion of things being risen in the Church in these latter ages enforced Gilpin now earnestly desiring nothing so much as true piety, to begin to doubt whether the Pope might not be that Antichrist foretould in the Scriptures, and the Popish Church plainly Antichristian. For what is it to exalt and set up himselfe against all that is called God, insomuch that he sitteth as God in the Temple of God, behaving himselfe as God, if not this, that the Pope is head of the universall Church, the Lord, the Monarch, and as it were the God thereof? And that the word of the Pope is defended as the very word of God? For how shall not he whose word is as the word of God, be as God, opposing himselfe to God, and shewing himselfe that he is God? But this word which is called the unwritten word, or *verbum non scriptum*, is drawne out of the stinking puddles of the Decretals, that is to say, patched up together out of false and fictitious writings. And this word which is in no respect worthy to be compared with the word of an honest man, is the unwritten word of God, and to be enterteined with the same pious affection as are the holy Scriptures. Can Antichrist when he shall come, (if yet there be another to come) more grievously wrong and blaspheme Christ and the holy Scriptures then the Pope doeth? And here at the last he demurred as in an exceeding great doubt. For who would have thought the Pope to be Antichrist? Who durst to speake such a word before

before Martin Luther? Therefore, thus he argued with himselfe: If the Pope be Antichrist, I see not onely probable but even necessary causes to depart from the Popish Church. But if the Pope be not Antichrist, I see no sufficient ground for such a departure. It is not lawful to make a separation from the Church: but we are not only enjoined to come out of the Church of Antichrist, but we see the fearful anger of the living God, and heare his dreadfull threates thundered out against those who shall remaine in Babilon that Synagogue of Antichrist. Forasmuch as a voice from heaven speaketh unto us, (Apoc. 18.) *Come out of her my people:* and it is denounced that they shal receive of her plagues whosoever have beene partakers of her sinnes. Here therfore he stopped awhile: because except the Pope were manifestly detected to be Antichrist, he did not understand how he might seperate from the Church: and therefore he applied himselfe by searching, reading, prayer and meditation, to be resolved of this truth. He observed out of the Auncient Fathers, Tertulliam, Jerom, Ambrose, Augustine, Chrysostome, Cyrill, and others, that passage wherein Antichrist is described, 2 Thess. 2. 7. *He which now withhouldeth shall let till he be taken out of the way,* to be so interpreted as understood of the Romane Empire; that the Romane Empire which now held preheminence should keepe possession untill Antichrist shall come, who shall possesse the seat of the Romane Empire. And moreover whereas it is said in the same place, *that Christ shall not come againe except there be a departure first,* he observed this thing to be fulfilled likewise. He perceived first a very maine departure of the Church of Rome from her primitive simplicity and truth. And secondly, a second departure or seperation no lesse manifest, to wit, of that

that of the Reformed Churches from the Church of Rome.

Mr Gilpin would often say that the churches of the Protestants were not able to give any firme and solid reason of their seperation besides this, to wit, that the Pope is Antichrist. For he understood that a departure was commanded from the Church of Antichrist by that heavenly injunction, *Goe out of her my people, and be not partakers of her sinnes, lest ye receive also of her plagues*, Revel. 18. 4. In which place S. John wisely foretelleth that the people of God should be called out of the Synagogue of Antichrist: that here was no third thing to be thought upon: that either the Church of Christ was not to be forsaken, or the Pope to be accounted Antichrist, out of whose Church the Church of God is called forth by an heavenly voice and command. And now event, which is the most undoubted interpreter of propheeies, hath prooved all these things unto us. We have seene already many ages agoe that kingdome taken away, which ruled over all in the time of the Apostles: and in the roome thereof an ecclesiasticall kingdome erected, such an one as was never scene in the church in former ages. We have beheld the fearefull departure of the Church of Rome from the auncient purity and integrity of the Church. We have observed and doe daily the people called as it were by a voice from heaven, comming out of Babylon, that is to say, out of the Church of Antichrist. Our eyes have seene these things fulfilled, which we have read of as being foretould so many ages agoe. These things mooved the mind of Mr. Gilpin wonderfully to follow that Church which was shewed unto him out of the word of God. The Church of Rome kept the rule of faith intire, untill that rule was changed and altered by the

the Councel of Trent. And from that time it seemed unto him a matter of necessitie to come out of the Church of Rome, that so that Church which is true and called out from thence might follow the word of God. For this calling out seemed to point out unto us a peculiar estate of the Church. So Abraham was called out from Ur of the Caldees; the people of Israel were called out of Egypt; the Jewes out of Babylon, after the captivity of seventy yeeres; and at the last after the selfe same manner the Reformed Church called out of Mysticall Babylon, or the Church of Rome. These things were seene to have beene brought to passe by the wonderfull providence and powerfull hand of God. Therefore he saw that there was a necessity of comming out of her, and that that Apostaticall Church was to be forsaken. But he did not these things violently, but by degrees.

In the meane while Cuthbert Tonstall Bishop of Durham had a purpose to send Mr. Gilpin to visit the churches in forraine parts, allowing him meanes for his travell. This Tonstall was Mr. Gilpins Mothers Uncle. But before he undertooke his voyage, being commanded to Court, he preached before King Edward the sixth touching Sacriledge; which Sermon is publick in print. Then he applied his mind to thinke upon his travell. Now so it was that he had a parsonage bestowed upon him by the care of his friends. This parsonage Bishop Tonstall persuaded Mr. Gilpin to keepe still in his hands, as meanes to furnish him with allowance for his travell, that he might demeane himselfe more honestly and more gentlemanlike therein. But Gilpin who had reteined this parsonage but a short while, before he would betake himselfe to travell called unto him a friend, whom he knew to be relligious, and a scholler, and one that would not be idle in the function of the holy ministry,

and unto him he made a resignation of his place but a little while before bestowed upon himselfe. Which thing when Bishop Tonstall came to know of, he chid with Mr. Gilpin: "And, I" (saith he) "have a care of thee, and thou rejectest it as impertinent. But I tell thee this before hand, that by these courses thou wilt die a begger." At the first Gilpin indeavoureth with faire language to appease the mind of the Bishop his especiall good friend. Afterwards he added that he had left his parsonage upon necessity, because he could not keepe it in his hands with any peace of conscience. "But" (saith the Bishop) "thou maist hould it with a dispensation, and in this case thou shalt be dispensed withall." "But" (answered Gilpin) "the Divell will not be restrained by any bonds of dispensation from labouring in mine absence the destruction of my people committed to my charge: And I feare that when God shall call me to an account of my stewardship, it will not serve my turne to make answer that I was dispensed withall whiles the Divell made havock of my flock." At which answer the Bishop seemed offended: but having hereby made triall of the sincerity of Gilpins heart he began to use him with more and more respect. Yet did he often threaten him, as Mr. Gilpin was wont to say, that *Fathers soule*, (a familiar word of the Bishops) Gilpin would die a begger.

In his travell abroad he first visited his brother George at Mechlin, who had written unto him to that purpose: then he lived for a while at Lovaine, and at Antwerp, and at Paris. After he was departed out of England, he received letters a second time from his brother George, whereby he was directed to meet him at Mechlin, because he had something to deliver unto him by word of mouth that he could not conveniently write. After they were met, Mr. Gilpin understood the reasons why he

he had sent for him thither to be nothing else, but onely to persuade him to take upon him a parsonage, which might afford him maintenance while he should visite forraigne Universities. Gilpin now seemed to himselfe to be in a strait, for he knew that he had lately given the Bishop distast upon this occasion, and he perceived that in this matter his brother was put upon him by the Bishop. At last therefore he writes backe to the Bishop in these words.

The Letter followeth.

" My very honourable good Lord, and most worthy ever to be honoured by me: I thought it not fitting to conceale from your Lordship that my brother hath written unto me of late, that setting all excuse aside I should give him meeting at Mechlin, because he had something to say unto me touching very necessary affaires which could not be dispatched by letters. When we were met, I understood that his businesse with me was nothing else but to try me, if I would take upon me a living, whiles my selfe in the meane while should remaine a student in the University. But had I knowne before hand that this was the cause of my journey I should not have thought it necessary to have interrupted my studies with going to Mechlin. For now I confesse I have discussed it with all the learned, but especially with the holy Prophets, and with the most auncient and most godly writers since the time of our Saviour; so that I am fully resolved so long as I live never to burden my conscience in this case, nor to keepe a living in mine owne charge with condition to live from it. He

answered that your Lordship had written unto him that you would gladly conferre a living upon me, and that your Lordship and mine other friends, whereof himselfe was one, judged mee too scrupulous in conscience in this case. Whereunto I answered, if I be somewhat too scrupulous, (as I thinke I am not) yet it is a matter of that nature, that I had rather be a little too strict, then to give my conscience too much scope herein. Forasmuch as I am once perswaded, that I shall not offend God in refusing such a living as I cannot be resident upon; so long as I doe not censure evill of other men, as I hope I never shall; yea I pray daily for all those who have the care of soules, that they may be able so to give an account unto God of the charge committed unto them as may be most for the glory of God and the edification of his Church.

He tould me also that your Lordship would not confer any charge upon me but such a one as should be served as well, or perhaps better in mine absence, then if I were there my selfe. Whereunto I answered, that I doubted not but that there might be in England a great number of men farre more able then my selfe to take the cure upon them: And therefore I wish above all things that they may retaine both the place and the benefit, and feede both the bodies and the soules, as I suppose all good pastors bound in conscience to doe. But for mine owne part I cannot in conscience reape benefit from that place, wherein another man bestoweth his indeavours. For though any other should teach and preach for me, as constantly and industriously as ever Saint Augustine did, yet cannot I thinke my selfe discharged by another mans paines-taking. But if yet I should be persuaded thus to offer violence to my conscience, upon condition

dition to remaine either here or in any other University, my disquiet of conscience would never permit me to profit in my study.

" At this present, I praise God, I have obtained a comfortable privacy in my studies neere to a Monastery of Minorite Friers, so that I have opportunity to make use of an excellent library of theirs so often as I will. I frequent the company of the best schollers, nor was I ever more desirous to learne. Hereupon being given to understand by my brother George, that your Lordship had some thoughts of bestowing a living upon me, which thing might interrupt the course of my studies, I emboldened my selfe (upon the experience which I have had of your Lordships love towards me) to unlock the closet of my thoughts unto your goodnesse freely; humbly beseeching that your Lordship will be pleased to permit me to live free from a pastorall charge, that I may the more quietly apply my studies. And forasmuch as I understand that your Lordship is sollicitous, how I should be provided for, if God should call your Lordship, (who are now well in yeares) out of this world, I beseech you that the thought thereof may no more disturbe you. For if I shall be brought low in meanes, I doubt not but in short time to be able to obtaine some lecture either in this University or else where, where I shall not lose my time, a course which is much more pleasing unto me, then if I should take upon me a pastorall charge. I beseech Christ preserve your Lordship. From Lovaine the 22. of November, 1554."

Thus farre Mr. Gilpins Letter.

Now tell me, what one of all those gaping rookes of our time hath indeavoured with more art to acquire then this man to decline a spirituall living?

At his first comming over into the parts beyond the Seas, he resided for the most part at Lovaine; afterwards he went to Paris. Whiles he abode in Paris, Bishop Tonstall was carefull that a certaine booke which himselfe had written at that time concerning the truth of the body and blood of Christ our Lord in the Eucharist should be published in print by the diligence of Mr. Gilpin. I am not ignorant that some Papists have objected to Mr. Gilpin, that the same worke was by him corrupted [5] contrary to the mind of the author. And even in mine hearing, when after these things I was a scholler under him at Houghton, Francis Wickliffe gave notice unto Mr. Gilpin what was muttered touching the corrupt edition. Whereupon he having disprooved that suspicion by many reasons, at the last produced the letters of Cuthbert Tonstall, wherein the Bishop gave him very great thankes, because he had beene both faithfull and diligent in the edition of that worke. At Paris Mr. Gilpin resided in the house of Vascosanus, and conversed with learned men. And whiles he asked the opinions of learned men concerning these things which had troubled his minde, for the most part they answered him in that manner, not as if they regarded the pacification of

[5] *By him corrupted.*] It is most probable, that the Papists resorted to this expedient of calumniating an innocent man, only to elude, what was often objected and appealed to by the Protestant Confessors and Martyrs in the reign of Mary, the candid acknowledgment contained in this work, of the novelty of the name and doctrine of Transubstantiation, and the free censure expressed by this Catholic Bishop against Pope Innocent III. for declaring the belief of that article to be necessary to salvation.

Vascosanus, mentioned a little below, was the printer of Tonstall's book.

conscience,

conscience, which he aimed at onely, but the establishment of the traditions of the Church.

At that time was Neale at Paris also, with whom Mr. Gilpin dealt somewhat freely, that both of them together might joyne in pursuit of the truth. They had by chance some discourse touching the adoration of Images. Mr. Gilpin was much troubled hearing the Papists condemne Idolatry in their discourses and yet permitting to the people every where the adoration of Images. He demaunded with what comfort of conscience any man could bow himselfe before an Image: and is not this (saith he) the idolatry forbidden in the second commandement? This did Mr. Gilpin demand of him the rather, because he observed the man a little too much addicted to the Popish opinions. Neale answered with that usuall distinction of an idol and an image. That the images of the saints were not idols, and so consequently that the worshipping of their images was no idolatry. Mr. Gilpin replyed, there is no mention of an idol in the second commandement, but there is a prohibition of bowing before a graven image, or the likenesse of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the waters under the earth: wheresoever they are, we are forbidden to fall downe before the likenesse of them. And what (saith he) maketh an idol? The workeman frameth the similitude of some man; the graven image is not an idol, but adoration maketh it an idol. Therefore the Apostle saith, *that an idol is nothing, because there is but one God.* In the opinion of the person adoring it seemeth to be something, but that which the fancy of the party adoring apprehendeth is indeed nothing in the world: therefore idolatry is when the worship due to God onely is bestowed upon the creature. But whosoever in prayer

prayer boweth downe himselfe before any creature whatsoever, giveth unto the creature the worship due to God alone. The commandement of God forbiddeth us to make unto our selves any graven image, or the likenesse of any creature. But they make it unto themselves who make it for a religious use. We are also forbidden to bow downe our selves before any such creature; for those who doe so, doe serve and worship the same creature. And in this place that distinction of *Latria* and *Doulia*[6] is frivolous, which are words of the same signification, forasmuch as that distinction is taken away by the express words of the commandement; *Thou shalt not bow down unto them.* So that bowing downe unto them is forbidden, notwithstanding we see it practised every where. To this Neale answereth, that the ordinances of the church are not to be altered without mature deliberation, Gilpin replyeth that it is not in our power to alter the ordinances of the church. But seeing I cannot alter things already determined in the church, it remaineth that I especially indeavour to change my selfe, and to draw neere to the sincere worship of God, as his grace shall inable me.

Mr. Gilpin did often professe that when he lived amongst the Papists, he had observed many things which had estranged his heart from that religion. He understood that a mans chiefest comfort consisted in the article of justification; which article he saw so obscured in popery that true consolation was utterly excluded. Therefore he did with all diligence enquire into the Scriptures and writings of the Fathers.

[6] *Distinction of Latria and Doulia.*] See Jewel's *Reply to Harding*, p. 381—383. Barnes's *Works*, p. 352, 353. &c.

Returning

Returning into England in the dayes of Queene Mary he beheld to his great griefe the church oppressed with blood and fire: and being placed by Bishop Tonstall in the Rectory of Essingdon, he began to preach the word of God, and sharply to taxe some vices which then raigned in the church. He propounded the doctrine of salvation plainly and soundly, which thing procured him many back friends, especially among the clergy whose faults he had touched to the quick.

There was at that time among the clergy of the Bishoprick of Durham one Dunstall Parson of a church in that Diocesse. This man was very hot against Gilpin, and accused him often to the Bishop as an heretick, and one that deserved to be burnt as other hereticks were. But the Bishop could not indure to shed blood, and therefore dealt mildly with him, and preserved him from the projects of his enemies. I have heard Anthony Carleton relate, (and he at that time lived in the Bishops house) that the Bishops Chaplains at a certaine time had some discourse with Gilpin about Luther: and that one of them had asked him what he thought of Luther and his writings. Gilpin confessed that he had not read the writings of Luther. "I propounded unto my selfe," (said he) "this course; first of all to search the Scriptures diligently, and to be acquainted with the expositions of the Fathers upon them. As for the writings of the Neoterickes, I have onely looked upon them: howbeit I refuse them not, when and where they agree with the auncients." One of them commended Mr. Gilpins resolution, and said, "it would be well with the church, if all men would duely respect the writings of the Fathers; for then the upstart opinions of late writers would not so much disturbe the Church, such as are of these

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of Luther." But Gilpin answered, "if Neoterickes and late writers produce the opinions of the auncient fathers, the novelty of the men is not to be disdained, but the antiquity of the doctrine is to be reverenced."

They hereupon subtilly draw on Gilpin into a disputation concerning the Sacrament of the Altar; propounding therein two questions, the one concerning the reall presence, the other concerning transubstantiation. Touching the reall presence Gilpin confessed that he had no very strong argument wherewith in his judgment he might oppose the Reall presence: "For I suppose," (saith he) "that therein lieth hid a great mystery, such a one as is above my capacity; rather to be adored then disputed upon." They asked then "what he thought of transubstantiation?" He answered "that there was no necessity why we should beleeve, those things which have no solid foundation in the word of God." "Doe you not then beleeve," (said they) "as the Church believes?" Gilpin replieth that the Church had not always held that as an article of faith: "I am (saith he) of the Catholick faith, and the Catholick faith changeth not. But in this point I see alterations, such as the Catholicke faith is not capable of." They demanded what alterations in faith he had observed touching the Sacrament of the Altar. He replyeth: "I doe not finde that in the Church in former ages, there was any thing spoken, or written about transubstantiation. Peter Lumbard was either the first, or at least one of the first that brought in the alteration of the auncient faith. And what doe you your selves thinke; is the bread in transubstantiation converted into the flesh and blood of Christ?" They answer, that they beleeve so absolutely. "But," saith Gilpin, "Peter Lumbard

who

who was the first man that made an alteration of the faith of our forefathers in this point, himselfe did not beleeve as you doe. For in his fourth booke the eleventh distinction, F. thus he hath it: *there is no transubstantiation but of bread into flesh, and wine into blood.* And if that be true, then doubtlesse it followes consequently, that in the transubstantiation of the bread there is no blood. And now (saith he) how will you reconcile these thinges?" They stood at a stand, as having nothing to answer, because the words of Lumbard plainely deny that in the transubstantiated bread can be any blood, or in the wine his flesh. Whom when Gilpin had observed to stagger in this point," Take notice now (saith he) of the immutabillity of the Catholicke faith: we see the alteration of transubstantiation. For when Lumbard had broached this doctrine, that there was a kinde of change, he would have it non otherwise understood then thus: that the bread onely should be changed into flesh, and the wine onely into blood. Nor did men at that time dreame of any other conversion in the Sacrament of the Altar, untill the fiction of concomitancy [7] was broached by Thomas Aquinas. He was a man that understood well the difficulty of this point, and therefore he underpropped it with

[7] *The fiction of concomitancy.*] "Sub utrâque specie, ex reali *concomitantiâ* totum Christum contineri certissimâ fide tenendum est." Aquinas. Tertia pars. Quæst. 76. art. 2.

"Touching this new fantasie of Concomitantia, after they had once devised a new religion, it was necessary, for aide of the same, to devise also new words. Whereas Christ saith, *This is my Body:* They say, *This is my Body and my Blood.* Where Christ saith, *This is my Blood*, they say, *This is my Blood, and my Body:* and in either part, they say is whole Christ, God and Man. If ye demand *how* they *know* it, they say not by the word of God, but by this new imagination of *concomitantia.*" Jewel's *Reply.* p. 295. edit. 1609.

concomitancy,

concomitancy, that forsooth by reason of concomitancy there is both flesh and blood in the transubstantiated bread. But these are the inventions of later men, whereas the Catholicke relligion abhorreth invented alterations in matters of faith." While they were houlding this disputation without speakeing aloud, because they were close at the Bishops backe, who at that time sate before the fire, for it was in the winter season; the Bishop leaned his chair somewhat backwards, and harkened what they said. And when they had done speaking, the Bishop turning to his chaplaines, useth these words, " Fathers soule, let him alone, for he hath more learning then you all."

Whilest he lived at Essingdon, he preached the word of God constantly to the people. Now so it was that the archdeaconry of Durham was annexed to the rectory of Essingdon. Thereupon Mr. Gilpin for a time supplyed both places. And when by chance he had notice that the Bishop was so carefull of him, that he had a purpose to encrease his maintenance, he made answer that he was provided for sufficiently and even somewhat more then sufficient already; and desired the Bishop that he might have his good leave to resigne either the rectory or the Archdeacons place: " for" (saith he) " the one of them will be sufficient; me thinkes both together are too heavie a burthen for me." Hereat the Bishop seemed to be mooved with him, and said; " have not I tould thee before hand, that thou wilt die a begger? I found them both combined; and combined I will leave them."

Not long after he bestowed upon Mr. Gilpin the rectory of Houghton being a very large parish contayning 14. villages with very large possessions. Mr. Gilpin being settled at Houghton persevered most constantly

constantly in the duties of the ministry, and repaired the decayed houses. His parsonage house seemed like a Bishops pallace: nor shall a man lightly finde one Bishops house amongst many worthy to be compared to this house of his, if he consider the variety of buildings, and neatnesse of the scituation.

Whiles Mr. Gilpin lived at Houghton he was touched with a care not of that parish onely but of many more: for he sawe and was much grieved to see many congregations through the disease of impropriation, as they call it, to be even dispersed and destitute of pastors. For the parsonages being in the possession of laymen, there remained not maintenance for a minister: for the laymen sought out[8] for poore base preistes, who were onely able to read prayers to the people morning and evening: nor did the one use to require, or they take care to performe any more. This desolation of the Church, and ignorance of the common sort much troubled the holy heart of Mr. Gilpin. He therefore purposed with himselfe, with as much care and vigilancy as he could, not to make up the breach wholy (for that was a thing impossible for him to dooe) but to doe his owne duty to the best of his endeavours, that the truth may be propagated, and God glorified. This desolation of the congregations appeared most of all in Northumberland and the parts adjoyning which are called Riddesdale, and Tindale. For in these quarters, especially in that time, the word of God was never heard of to be preached amongst them but by Mr. Gilpin's ministry. So that once a yeare it was his custome to make a journey amongst them. For which purpose he would usually take the oppor-

[8] *The Lay-men sought out.*] See Jewel's *Sermons.* p. 181. 190. &c.

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tunity of Christmas holidayes, when in respect of frost and snowe other men were loth to travell. That time he liked best, because then there came many holy-dayes together, and the people would more usually assemble upon the holy-dayes, whereas at other times they neither would come together so easily, nor so often.

He got himselfe a great deale of estimation and respect amongst this people both by preaching and by distribution of monies to the poore in his journey, being sometimes benighted before he was aware, and forced to lodge in the snowe all night. In which extreamity, he commanded William Airy, who for the most part attended upon him, to trott the horses up and downe, and neither to permit them nor himselfe to stand still, whiles he himselfe in the meane while did bestirre himselfe sometimes running, sometimes walking, as not able to stand still for cold.

At home his daily care was for the discharge of his ministry and provision for the poore. Now there was in this towne of Houghton a streete of poore people; for their reliefe he tooke order that every Thursday through the yeare a very great pot should be provided full of boyled meat purposely for the poore. And not at Houghton alone, but even wheresoever opportunity presented it selfe, he was carefull for the poore, insomuch that by the common consent of the country people he was stiled a father of the poore.

Upon a time as he was returning home upon a journey there was a certaine husbandman at plow, in whose teame of horses one upon a sodaine fell downe, whether with being overwrought or upon some disease it is uncertaine. The husbandman and those who were with him did their best to raise the horse againe with all the strength they had:

had: but it was in vaine, for the horse was dead. Mr. Gilpin passing by accidentally stayed to observe the issue of the matter: And perceiving that the horse could not be raised againe, and that the husbandman was exceedingly grieved for the death of his beast, and that he cryed out he was even undone by that miserable accident, he commanded his man to alight from the horse he had under him, and patiently to carry the saddle and bridle to the next towne, and to give to the poore man the horse whereon he rode. The husbandman thereupon cryed out, "Alas Sir, I am not able to pay you the price of so good an horse." "Be of good cheare" (saith Mr. Gilpin) "thou shalt never pay me for him, till I demand it; in the meane while goe on with thy worke." Yea, and many a time as he travailed was he accustomed thus to help poore men. When at any time he chanced to meete any naked poore, he would put off part of his apparell to cover their nakednesse: and at his table he usually fed many poore persons.

When that blessed Queene Elizabeth of never dying memory, after the direfull times of her sisters raigne came to the crowne, the scarcity of learned men who were able to preach the word of God, mooved not onely many religious persons, but even the very Counsell of the Queene to seeke a salve for this sore * by all the meanes they could. Mr. Gilpin observing the laudable endeavours of many in relieving the churches want in this kinde, himselfe also was exceeding studious to doe what good he could possibly in his owne charge. Whereupon he began to conceive thoughts of a seminary of good literature, or a grammer-schoole, and builded

* *A salve for this sore.*] See Kennett's *Case of Impropriations, and of the Augmentations of Vicarages.* p. 153—174.

a schoole,

a schoole, allowing maintenance for a master and usher. Himselfe also made choice out of the same schoole of such as he liked best to be privately instructed by himselfe. Which resolution of his much benefited Mr. Gilpin himselfe, and the whole Church of God all England over. For in that schoole of his were bred very many learned men, who very much graced the Church by their indeavours and uprightnesse of life. There was great resort of schollers to that schoole of his, many of whom were boorded in the towne, and many at Mr. Gilpins house. He boorded the sonnes of knights and esquires at a small rate: those who were of his kindred were free: yea and he had many poore mens sonnes upon whom he bestowed both meate, and drinke, and cloth, and education. Whereby Mr. Gilpins schoole was every where spoken of to his credit, but himselfe much more. Out of this schoole of his he sent daily very many to both Universities, unto divers whereof he also allowed maintenance in the University at his owne cost and charges.

And now while he was wholly taken up with these imployments, glory and reputation which followeth him that flyeth from it, and flyeth from him that has pursued it, had made the name of Mr. Gilpin most renowned, insomuch that he was not onely honoured among the fathers of the clergy, but amongst all the nobility of the kingdome. Amongst the nobles at court the Earle of Bedford was one that marvellously respected Mr. Gilpin. This Earle earnestly desired of the Queene that the bishoprick of Carlile, at that time vacant upon the death of Owen Oglethorpe, should be bestowed upon him Mr. Gilpin, and obtained it. And thereupon the Earle dispatcheth his letters to Mr. Gilpin to gather that power of election which

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is termed *Congedeslier*. Mr. Gilpin receiving the letters together with the *Congedeslier*, sent back a messenger out of hand with letters to the Earle, wherein having returned all hearty thankes to the Queene and to the Earle, he humbly beseecheth the Earle, to be mediatour to the Queene for him and to get him excused as concerning the bishoprick, alledging that he was best acquainted with his owne strength, and conscious to himselfe of his owne insufficiency for the discharge of so great a place: if in the meanewhile he could be any other way serviceable to the Church, he would be diligent and carefull in some meaner imployment. At that time was Edwin Sandes Bishop of Worcester, a man venerable for his approved wisdome, learning, and holinesse of life, who was afterwards translated to London, and thence to Yorke. This Bishop hapned to be in London at the same time when the Earle of Bedford was busy about the preferring of Mr. Gilpin to a bishoprick: and he, either by the persuasion of the Earle, or out of the intire love which he bore to Mr. Gilpin, (for he was neere a kin unto him) dispatched letters to Mr. Gilpin, whereby he persuadeth him to accept of, and to keep the bishoprick thus offered. The letter was found amongst Mr. Gilpins papers in these words.

" My much and worthily respected coozen, having regard unto the good of the Church of Christ, rather then to your ease, I have by all the good meanes I could beene carefull to have this charge imposed upon you, which may both be an honour to your selfe, and a benefit to the Church of Christ. My true report concerning you hath so prevailed with the Queenes Majesty, that she hath nominated you Bishop of Carlile.

I am not ignorant that your inclination rather delighteth in the peaceable tranquility of a private

life. But if you looke upon the estate of the Church of England with a respective eye, you cannot with a good conscience refuse this charge imposed upon you: so much the lesse, because it is in such a place, as wherein no man is found fitter then your selfe to deserve well of the Church. In which respect I charge you before God, and as you shall answer to God herein, that setting all excuses aside, you refuse not to assist your country, and to doe service to the Church of God to the uttermost of your power. In the meane while I give you to understand that the said bishoprick is to be left unto you untouched, neither shall any thing of it be diminished (as in some others it is a custome) but you shall receive the bishopricke entire as Doctor Oglethorpe hath left it. Wherefore exhorting and charging you to be obedient to Gods call herein, and not to neglect the duty of your owne calling, I commend both yourselfe and the whole businesse to the divine providence. In hast, At London, the fourth day of April, 1560.

Your kinsman and brother,
EDWIN WORCESTER."

Mr. Gilpin returneth thankes to the reverend Bishop his kinseman. But as touching the bishoprick, he desireth to be excused, and in that resolution he became unmooveable. And many there were who thought him blameworthy, because he had so stiffely rejected a bishoprick. But amongst some Mr. Gilpins reputation seemed to grow greater by this refusall, then if he had accepted the offer. I remember that I my selfe have heard him discoursing amongst his friends touching this occasion, when one of them asked him upon what grounds he had so stiffely refused a bishoprick: to whom he made answer, that he refused not so much the

the bishopricke, as the inconvenience of the place. "For" (saith he) "if I had beene chosen in this kinde to any bishopricke elsewhere, I would not have refuſed it; but in that place I have beene willing to avoide the trouble of it, seeing I had there many of my freinds and kindred, at whom I must connive in many thinges, not without hurt to my selfe, or else deny them many thinges not without offence to them: which difficulties I have easily avoided by refusall of that bishopricke."

Upon this refusall of Mr. Gilpins, Doctor John Best, a learned and religious man, was made choice of for the place: but whether he had it conferred upon him upon the same termes as it was proffered to Mr. Gilpin, that no diminution should be made of any part thereof, that I know not.

Not long after this his refusall of that bishoprick, he was set upon by another request, to witt, that he would take upon him to be Provost of Queenes College, in Oxford, whereunto he was chosen; or at least he would be pleased to nominate som other for that place who might be a good and fitting man for the same. There was a letter written unto him by Thomas Francis to this purpose.

"Commendations premised, &c. Seeing I have a resolution to relinquish this place which I now hould in Queens College in Oxford, being heartily desirous that some vertuous, godly, and learned man, and such a one as by the statutes of the College shall be fit, may be chosen to the place, I have thought good once more to make a tender of the same unto you: which if it shall please you to accept I shall be ready upon the receit of your letters to that purpose to advertise the Fellowes thereof, whom I know to be marvaillously well inclined towards you. But if so great a trouble with so small a maintenance (for so I may truely terme

this burthen) doe not give you content, I intreat your advice and direction as a friend to nominate me a man unto whom I may resigne the place, such an one as your selfe shall know to be a man fitting: and one who may and ought to be chosen. I shall gladly be directed by you so soone as I shall understand your mind by your letters, which I pray you be carefull to send me with all convenient speed. In hast from Oxford the 17 of December. 1561."

What answer Mr. Gilpin returned to this message, I doe not finde, but it is manifest that he refused the offer of that preferment. For against all the intreaties of friends in these kindes, he remained constant and unmovable, as the poet spoke of King Latinus.

Ille velut pelagi rupes immota resistit.

Mooved no more
Then rocke on shore.

And all this while Mr. Gilpin seemed even to supply the place of a Bishop by preaching, by taking care of the poore, and by making provision for the necessity of other churches, by erecting of schooles, and by accommodating men learned and fitting for the holy function of the ministry. As for Mr. Gilpin's house it was like unto a very monastery; if a man consider a monastery such as were those in the times of Saint Augustine, but not such as these latter ages have brought forth.

William Lord Cecill Baron of Burghley, principall Secretary to the Queene, being sent into Scotland about affairs of state, in his returne homewards being drawne with the fame of Mr. Gilpin, came to Houghton, and visited him. Mr. Gilpin entertayneth

entertayneth him with all respects and due rites of hospitality. When the Lord Cecill had well observed Mr. Gilpin, and had approoved the extraordinary curtesie of the man, and had tooke notice of such diligence, and abundance of all things with so compleat service in the entertainment of so great a stranger, and so unlooked for a guest, being now ready to depart thence, he spoke on this wise: that he had heard much by the report of others touching Mr. Gilpin, but what he now had seene and tried was much more then that which he had formerly heard. Therefore speaking in very friendly manner to Mr. Gilpin, he said: "Sir, if you have any occasion or suite at Court or before the Counsell, I pray you to make use of me as a mediator for you."

The honourable Baron being returned towards Durham, when he came to the hill called Rainton hill, reflecting his eye upon the whole champion country which he had now passed, he looked backe very earnestly both upon Mr. Gilpins house and the scituation thereof, and useth these words, "I doe not blame this man (saith he) for refusing a bishopricke: for what doth he want that a bishopricke could more enrich him withall? Besides that he is free from the greater waight of cares."

Mr. Gilpin did not omit to visite the people of Ridsdale and Tindale once every yeare. Amongst whom he was esteemed a very prophet, and little lesse than adored by that halfe barbarous and rustick people. It happened by chance that whiles Mr. Gilpin preacht amongst them, a certaine good-fellow had stolen away Mr. Gilpins horses: upon the missing whereof, there is hue and cry raised through the country, that Mr. Gilpins horses were stolne, and must be searched for with all possible diligence. The fellow who had stolne them, so soone as he

heard that they were Mr. Gilpins horses (for he knew not whose they were when he took them away) was in great feare and trembling. The theft did not much trouble his conscience, but when he heard the name of Mr. Gilpin, it cast him into trouble and distraction of heart. Therefore in much trembling, and with all the speede he could he brought backe Mr. Gilpins horses, and humbly craved the pardon and benediction of Father Gilpin: and protested that after it came to his knowledge that they were Mr. Gilpins horses he was afraid to be thrust downe quicke into hell, if he should doe him any wrong.

Uppon a time when Mr. Gilpin was in these parts at a towne called Rothbury, there was a pestilent faction amongst some of them that were wont to resort to that church. The men being bloodily minded practised a bloody manner of revenge, termed by them Deadly-feod [1]. If the faction on the one side did perhaps come to the church, the other side kept away, because they were not accustomed to meet together without bloodshed. Now so it was that when Mr. Gilpin was in the pulpit in that church, both parties came to church in the presence of Mr. Gilpin; and both of them stood, the one of them in the upper part of the church, or chancell, the other in the body thereof armed with swords and javelins in their hands. Mr. Gilpin somewhat mooved with this unaccustomed

[1] *Deadly feod.*] "The people of this country have had one very barbarous custom among them. If any two be displeased, they expect no law, but bang it out bravely, one and his kindred against the other and his. They will subject themselves to no justice, but in an inhuman and barbarous manner fight and kill one another. They run together in clans, as they term it, or names. This fighting they call their *deadly feides.*" Survey of Newcastle, Harleian Miscellany, Vol. 3. quoted in Gilpin's Life of Gilpin, p. 273.

spectacle

spectacle goeth on neverthelesse in his sermon, and now a second time their weapons make a clashing sound, and the one side drew neerer to the other, so that they were in danger to fall to blowes in the middest of the church. Hereupon Mr. Gilpin commeth downe from the pulpit, and stepping to the ringleaders of either faction, first of all he appeased the tumult. Next, he labowreth to establishe peace betwixt them, but he could not prevaile in that: onely they promised to keepe the peace unbroken so long as Mr. Gilpin should remaine in the church. Mr. Gilpin seeing he could not utterly extinguish the hatred which was now inveterate betwixt them, desired them that yet they would forbear hostility so long as he should remaine in those quarters: and this they consented unto. Mr. Gilpin thereupon goeth up into the pulpit againe (for he had not made an end of his sermon) and spent the rest of the allotted time which remained in disgracing that barbarous and bloody custome of theirs, and (if it were possible) in the utter banishing of it for ever. So often as Mr. Gilpin came into those parts afterwardes, if any man amongst them stood in feare of a deadly foe he resorted usually where Mr. Gilpin was, supposing himselfe more safe in his company, then if he went with a guard.

Upon a certaine Lords-day Mr. Gilpin comming to a church in those parts, before the people were assembled, and walking up and down therein, espied a glove hanged on high in the church. Whereupon he demanded of the sexton, what should be the meaning thereof, and wherefore it hanged in that place? The sexton maketh answer that it was a glove of one of the parish who had hanged it up there as a challenge to his enemy, signifiing thereby that he was ready to enter into combat

combat with his enemy hand to hand, or with any one else who should dare to take down that challendge. Mr. Gilpin requested the sexton by some meanes or other to take it down. "Not I sir," (replied the Sexton) "I dare doe no such thing." "But" (said Mr. Gilpin) "if thou wilt but bring me hither a long staffe, I will take it downe my selfe:" and so when a long stafe was brought, Mr. Gilpin tooke downe the glove and put it up in his bosom. By and by came the people to church in abundance, and Mr. Gilpin when he saw his time went up into the pulpit: In his Sermon he took occasion to reproove these inhuman challenges, and rebuked them sharpely for that custome which they had of making challenges by the hanging up of a glove. "I heare," saith he, "that there is one amongst you, who even in this sacred place hath hanged up a glove to this purpose, and threatneth to enter into combat with whosoever shall take it downe. Behold, I have taken it downe my selfe;" and at that word plucking out the glove shewed it openly, and then instructed them how unbeseeming those barbarous conditions were for any man that professed himselfe a Christian; and so laboured to perswad them to a reconciliation, and to the practise of mutuall love and charity amongst themselves.

After his sermon it was his custome to distribute money amongst the poorer sorte; and many times to visit them who were imprisoned; and after he had preached unto them in prison, to bestow money largely amongst the prisoners; many of whom hee brought home to repentance for their former passed life, and to honest conversation; and for many who were condemned to die he procured pardon, and saved their lives.

When we were children a rebellion was raised in the North by the Earles of Northumberland and

Westmorland: which Mr. Gilpin perceived before hand by certaine evident signes. And because he understood that in so troublesome a time he should want power to defend himselfe and his owne, he conceived thoughts of going aside for a while. Therefore after a speech made to the maisters and schollers, that they should demeane themselves carefully and peaceably until his returne, himselfe went to Oxford: residing there untill the Queens' army under the command of the Earle of Sussex should make speed to Durham for discomfiture of the rebels. The rebels were now within Durham, but at the report of the Queens' army they dispersed themselves and fled. After they were put to flight, there was sharpe and cruell proceedings against the simpler sort, whom the rebels had drawne to their faction under pretence of serving the Queene: for the silly people were sollicited as for the Queenes service, the rebels in all places giving it out that they stood for the Queene. During the time that the rebels had possession of Durham with their army, masse was sung in the cathedrall church day by day. Some of them flew out as farre as Houghton. There they found Mr. Gilpins barnes full of corne, young cattell ready fatted, and many things provided for hospitalitie. but they make waste of all, selling the corne, consuming the fatted ware, and basely making havocke of all those things which Mr. Gilpin had provided for pious and honest uses. There was among them one fellow whom Mr. Gilpin had sometimes saved from the gallowes, and this knave was the wickedest of all the rest in rioting away Mr. Gilpins goods. Now after the rebels were dispersed, and proceeding made against the simple people somewhat more sharply then was fitting by Sir George Bowes, who

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was constituted marshall for that purpose, Mr. Gilpin who was now come home againe begged the lives of many by his intercession; for hee knew well enough that many men were drawne as it were into the snare, not wilfully, but through ignorance, and through the fraudulent practises of others. And now the whole trouble being over, Mr. Gilpin returneth to his accustomed indeavours of studies and charity.

There was betwixt the most learned and reverend James Pilkington then Bishop of Durham, and Mr. Gilpin more then ordinary friendship through their long acquaintance and paritie of dispositions. The Bishop was wont oftentimes to visitt Mr. Gilpin at his house, and the bishop also incited the rather by Mr. Gilpins example builded a schoole at Lancaster, and brought the statutes of the schoole to be over looked and examined by Mr. Gilpin. He was also familiarly acquainted with, and marvaylously respected Thomas Lever a godly and learned man, master of Sherbourn-hospital.

There was at that time, published a booke of Thomas Cartwrights touching ecclesiasticall discipline, which booke was exceedingly liked by many in those dayes. William Birch a Canon of Durham, a man learned, but too hastily inclining to that forme of discipline which Cartwright had proposed, sent one of these bookes to Mr. Gilpin to read over; requesting him to looke over the booke, and that he would be pleased to write backe his opinion concerning the same. Birch seemed to be somewhat in hast upon the matter: for very shortly after he wrote againe to Mr. Gilpin, requesting him to send over his book with his censure of it, before Mr. Gilpin had read it all over. Mr. Gilpin did accordingly send backe the booke, and a letter

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to Mr. Birch, and as he had an excellent veine in versifying, in the end of his letter he wrote certaine verses, which are these that follow.

" Multa quidem legi, sed plura legenda reliqui;
Posthac quum dabitur copia, cuncta legam:
Optant ut careat maculis ecclesia cunctis,
Præsens vita negat; vita futura dabit."

Which verses of his I have thus Englished,

Much have I read, but more remaines behind,
I'le read the rest when I can leasure finde:
Men wish our church no blemish had at all,
It cannot be so heere, in heaven it shall.

There came unto Mr. Gilpin a certaine Cambridge man, who seemed a very great scholler, and hee dealt earnestly with Mr. Gilpin touching the discipline and reformation of the church. Mr. Gilpin tould him that he could not allowe that an human invention should take place in the Church in stead of a divine institution. And how? Doe you thinke, saith the man, that this forme of discipline is an human invention? " I am," saith Mr. Gilpin, " altogether of that mind. And as many as shall diligently have turned over the writings of the auncient fathers will be of mine opinion. I suspect that forme of discipline which appeareth not to have beene received in any auncient Church." " But yet," saith the man, " latter men doe see * many things which those auncient fathers

* *Latter men doe see.*] The Puritans seem to have been very little scrupulous in exalting themselves and their partizans to the disparagement of former ages. " I have heard it credibly reported (says Dr. Bancroft) that in a certaine College in Cambridge,"

fathers saw not: and the present Church seemeth better provided of many ingenious and industrious men." Mr. Gilpin seemed somewhat mooved at that word, and replyed: "I for my part do not hould the vertues of the latter men worthy to be compared to the infirmities of the fathers." The other man made answer that he supposed Mr. Gilpin to be in an errour in that point. But Mr. Gilpin used these words purposely because he perceived that this fellow had a strong conceit of I know not what rare vertues in himselfe, which opinion Mr. Gilpin was desirous to roote out of him.

George Gilpin, who had most elegantly translated out of low Dutch into English the booke of

Cambridge," (St. John's, is the College alluded to) "when it happeneth that in their disputations, the authoritye either of St. Augustine, or of St. Ambrose, or of St. Jerome, or of any other of the ancient Fathers; nay the whole consent of them all altogether is alleged; it is rejected with very great disdaine; as, what tell you me of St. Augustine, St. Ambrose or of the rest? I regard them not a rush. Were they not men? Whereas at other time, when it happeneth, that a man of another humour doth aunswere, if it fall out that he beinge pressed with the authority either of Calvin or Beza shall chance to deny it; you shall see some beginne to smile, in commiseration of such the poore mans simplicity; some grow to be angi in regard of such presumption; and some will depart away, accounting such a kinde of fellowe, not worthy the hearing." *Survey of the pretended Holy Discipline.* P. 64. Compare p. 329. And Sir F. Bacon, speaking of the same mal-content party, tells us that they no more scrupled to set themselves above the first Reformers and Martyrs, than they did over the Ancient Fathers. "As in affection they challenge the virtues of zeal, and the rest; so in knowledge they attribute unto themselves light and perfection. They say, the Church of England in King Edward's time, and in the beginning of her Majesty's reign, was but in the cradle; and the Bishops in those times did somewhat grope for day-break; but that maturity and fulness of light proceedeth from themselves." Of Church Controversies. Works. Vol. II. p. 384. edit. 1753. See also Bancroft's Survey. p. 357.

Philip

Philip Marnixius, Earle of Aldegund, called the *Beehive of the Romane Church*, came out of the low Countries unto Bernard. This man was brother to Bernard, and agent for the Queene with the States of Holland, amongst whom he left behind him a famous memory of himselfe for his singular wisdome. And having lived for some space most lovingly with his brother Bernard, being about to returne from Holland, he had advised with the Queene and Councell of the kingdome touching the affaires which he had to treat upon with the States in the Queenes name. The Earles of Leicester and Bedford exceedingly favored the two brothers, George for his wisedome in affaires of state, and Bernard for his holinesse of life. These requested George to perswade his brother Bernard to declare in writing the motives and meanes of his conversion from the Romane superstition to the light of the Gospell. To which request Mr. Gilpin answered that he would do it plainely and sincerely, without any dissimulation. The copy of his letter to that purpose I found among his papers to be thus.

The Letter of Bernard Gilpin to his brother George in the yeare of our Lord 1575.

" You doe request (brother) that I should relate unto you somewhat at large the manner and meanes of my conversion from superstition to the light of the Gospell: a thing, which I suppose, is not unknowne unto you to have beene a worke of many yeares: neverthelesse as time and health shall give leave I will conceale nothing from you herein. I will confesse mine owne shame to the confusion of the Divell; I will say with the Apostle, 1 Tim. 1.

1. 13. *I was received to mercy, for I did it ignorantly.*

"In the dayes of King Edward I was drawne to dispute against certaine positions of Peter Martirs: howbeit out of a naturall inclination I have alwayes so farre as I could avoided controversies and disputations. And when I was but a young divine, and had found out by holding that disputation that the foundation whereto I trusted was not so solid as I formerly supposed it, I thereupon began somewhat seriously to read over the Scriptures and writings of the Fathers, that I might confirme my selfe in my received opinions. But God freed my minde from that prejudicate conceit by little and little, and the zeale which I had for the Popish religion began to coole in me every day more and more. But on the other side I felt certaine sparkling desires which urged me to search out the truth. In the meane time while I repaired to the Bishop of Durham, that I might be further instructed; who tolde me, that in the matter of transubstantiation, Innocentius the Pope the third of that name had done unadvisedly, seeing he had made it an article of faith. And he did further confesse that the Pope had committed a great fault in that touching indulgences and other things he had taken no better order for the quiet of the Church. Afterwards I conferred with Doctor Redman[3], in whom I reposed much hope in regard of his eminent vertues, and great schollership. He affirmed unto me that the booke of Common Prayer, was an holy booke, and agreeable to the Gospell. These things cast

[3] *Dr. Redman.*] This eminent and amiable man was a near kinsman of Bishop Tonstal; which may perhaps account for Gilpin's enjoying the advantage of his society, though they were of different Universities. See Aschami *Epistolæ*, p. 39.

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me into many distractive thoughts. After this one of the fellowes of Queenes Colledge in Oxford told me that he had heard Doctour Chedsey saying among his friends, that it must come to this point, that the Protestants must grant us a reall presence of Christ in the Sacrament, and we likewise give way unto them in the opinion of transubstantiation, and so we shall accord. Doctor Weston made a long oration touching the Supper of the Lord to bee administred under both kindes. Mr. Morgan tolde me that Doctor Ware a man most famous for life and learning had affirmed unto him that the principall sacrifice of the Church of God was the sacrifice of thanksgiving. This was his answer when I had demanded of him what could be said for the sacrifice of the Masse. The most learned bishops in this kingdome at that time confuted the primacy of the Pope both in words and writing. Mr. Harding being newly returned home out of Italy, in a long and famous oration so plainly set out and painted to the life the Friers and unlearned Bishops, who had met at the Councell of Trent in their greene gownes, that it abated in me and in very many others a great deale of that opinion and confidence which we had reposed in Generall Councels.

" These things and many others gave me occasion diligently to search the Scriptures and the writings of the Fathers: whence I had begun to observe very many and very great abuses, and some enormities oftentimes used, and as oft defended in Popery, and to judge reformation necessary on the other part. Whiles I went on in this manner, I was overruled by the persuasions of some friends to accept of a parsonage; whereunto I was drawne against my will. If I offended God in undertaking

dertaking the charge before I was a more sufficient scholler, and better grounded in religion, I aske God forgivenesse. Nor doe I doubt but I have obtained mercy in his sight. Before I was entred upon that parsonage I preacht before King Edward at Greenwich a Sermon which had approbation of many good men.

"The Lord Treasurer, being at that time Secretary, obtained for me from the King licence as a generall Preacher throughout the Kingdome so long as the King lived, which time fell out to be not much above the space of halfe a yeare after. In my Sermons I handled those points wherein I was best grounded, and wherein I was undoubtedly resolved out of the Scriptures. I examined the Masse: and the abuse so farre as I was able to observe at that time consisted in the too much reverence, and grosser worship of the people; because I beleeved not Transubstantiation. Nevertheless at some times I read Masse, but seldome and privately.

"Then was I forthwith sent beyond the Seas that I might oversee the printing of my Lord Bishop Tonstall his booke touching the Eucharist, with two or three books more as you know, at Antwerp: where I beheld for the space of three yeares at Paris, Antwerp, and Lovaine, and in some other places very grosse Idolatry. This thing did more and more estrange me from the Popish religion: most of all because the learneder Papists did in their disputations in schooles deny the adoration of images, yet allowed the intolerable abuse thereof in their churches. And now whiles with all earnestnesse I advised with the holy Scriptures, and writings of the Fathers, I observed many things which alienated mine heart from the Popish Church. I ob-

I observed in that Church notable corruptions of the doctrine of the Bible; many things in the Sacraments instituted against Scripture, some Sacraments lately added: In the Sacrament of the Supper the one halfe taken away: the fiction of Transubstantiation brought in: traditions of the church made equall to the word of God, and to the holy Scriptures, and to be imbraced with the same pious affection: the worship of images brought into the Church: all things performed in the Church before the people in an unknowne language: but above all the rest the question concerning Antichrist troubled me most, because it seemed not to me a safe thing to make a seperation from the Popish Church, except I were first fully resolved that the Pope is Antichrist: and in this point I cannot easily expresse with how many difficulties and distractions I was daily opposed.

"Afterwards I was sent for home againe by the Bishop, who conferred upon me the Rectory of Essingdon: where when I had indeavoured to be constant in preaching, I observed that I had upon a sodaine procured to my selfe many and heavy enemies thereby: for I had preached against plurality of benefices, and non-residency. Mine adversaries cryed out that all such as broached that doctrine would proove hereticks quickly. Others were much displeased with me for that I had preached repentance and salvation by Christ. They laid to my charge that I did not make whole Sermons about transubstantiation, purgatory, holy water, the worshipping of images, the invocation of saints, and the like; which they could never heare come from me. And by how much the people were more earnest to resort to my Sermons, so much the more eagerly they tooke offence at mee and hated mee.

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"A very small matter brought me into danger. An honest matron[4], because in her pangs of childbirth she had often called upon God, was grievously checked by the other good women, because she had not called upon the blessed Virgin. To whom she made answer: "I have heard" (saith she) "a certaine famous preacher, one Gilpin, a man that

[4] *An honest matron.*] "Come to the labor of a woman that is a Pharisey, and thou shalt heare her cry and call for helpe more on the Virgin Mary, than she will upon the everlivinge God, who is the only Creatour and Saviour of the Virgin; and that most blasphemously sayinge, *Our Lady have mercy upon me*: and lykewise upon other Gods creatures. Now in these dayes, they wil say haply, we teach not to worship them as Goddes, but as mediatours. I tell thee, that is also a false and a develish doctrine." *Complaint of Roderyck Mors unto the Parlament House of Ingland.* Signat. G. 3.

"And here we have occasion to speake of midwives. The same office of a midwife is a necessary office; but I woulde wishe the Byshoppes would see better unto them, that they might be better instruct in Gods worde: for no doubt these midwives are the occasion of muche superstitions and dishonouring of God. The fault is because they are not instruct in the worde of God: and therefore when the women be in travailing, and so in peril of theyr lives, they cause them to call upon our Lady, whiche no doubt is very idolatry and dishonouring of God: for we ought not to call upon any creature: we muſt call onely upon God alone. Unto him onely pertayneth that honour." Latimer's *Sermons*. fol. 283. edit. 1584. Serm. on St. John the Evangelist's Day.

About the year 1517 it was articled against Joan Sampson, before Fitz-James, bishop of London, that "being in her labour, what time Joan Sampson her predecessor, then being alive, was with her, and after the manner then of women, called muche upon the helpe of the Virgin Mary, she spitting thereat, was in such sort aggrieved, that the other partie was compelled to forsake the house.

"Item; another time in the hearing of one Margaret Anworth, when she and other women were invocating the blessed Virgin to helpe in womans labour, she stood against them, and contumeliouslie spake against the invocators." Fox's *Acts*, p. 745.

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came lately out of Fraunce; if he will advise me to call upon the Saints, I will take his counsell in that point." I tolde them that I durst not persuade any one to invocate the Saints, but that those who call onely upon God for help in all their dangers, have a commandement from God so to doe, and a firme promise for the infallible comforting of their conscience. This occasion stirred me up many foes.

"In the meane while I often conversed with learned men, my very loving friends and kindred. I demanded how it came to passe that there was no reformation of so many abuses touching images, reliques, pilgrimages, buying and selling of masses and trentalls, with many other errours which in the time of King Edward the Papists had not onely confessed to be superstitious, but had promised reformation of them, and professed that it was meete the Church should be purged of them: which thing they said they would gladly doe, if ever the power came into their hands againe. When I asked of them in which of these points reformation should begin, in expectation of which thing I returned from Paris the more willingly, answer was made unto me, that no way must be given to the ignorant multitude. If (say they) we once confesse any errours at all, they will straightway cry out that many other things also are worthy to be reformed, besides those which we shall yeeld unto them, and so they will be still growing upon us, that we shall never have done reforming. These things wounded me grievously, and drave me to seeke out for peace of conscience.

"After these things, having preached two or three Sermons at Newcastle, I began to explaine my conscience more at large; where there were gathered twelve or thirteene articles against me,

and sent to the Bishop. And now had mine adversaries of the clergy whom I had grievously provoked, obtained what they had long looked for. Nor would they give over untill the Bishop had called me before their faces, to examine me in the point of the Sacrament. The Bishop shewed me as much favour, I suppose, as he durst. In Transubstantiation he would not trouble me; onely he inquired concerning the reall presence, which I granted, and so was freed out of that danger. And as touching the reall presence, I found not my selfe fully resolved. I supposed that therein lay hid a mystery above my capacity. Nevertheless my conscience did sometimes chide me, for that I had before them yeelded in expresse words to a point which seemed unto me doubtfull. But I hoped that God would pardon mine ignorance, and in time bring me to a greater light of knowledge.

" The winter following Queene Mary departed this life, and then I began to explaine my minde more fully. For before that time (for I must needes confesse the truth) weaknesse, ignorance, and the terrours of mine adversaries had somewhat restrained me. About Easter I was accused to the Bishop upon many articles, both out of the Diocesse of Yorke, and of Durham, all which things nevertheless hurt me no further then thus, that the Bishop incited thereto by the complaints of mine adversaries struck my name out of his last Will and Testament, forasmuch as the plebeians and ordinary sort of people were extremely offended with me. Now I, in that I lost the Bishops executorship, found my selfe eased of a great burthen, and was glad thereof. But as for the favour of the multitude, I hoped in time through the goodnesse

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of God to recover it againe, that my preaching might profit the more to edification; for otherwise I never desired the love of the vulgar.

"In harvest came the visitors[5]; and Doctor Sandes sent for me to Aukland, and appointed me both time and place to preach against the primacy at Durham. But he himselfe preaching the day before, whiles he seemed utterly to deny a reall presence, had so wounded my tender conscience, that the night following I could not sleep at all; and I was much troubled in my minde, whether I should preach the next day or not. At the last I went almost out of my bed into the pulpit, where, I know not how it happened, whether it was through my disquiet of conscience, or want of sleep, or in that I had offended God to goe up against my conscience, but me thought I did never feele such a want of utterance; and yet in my judgement I had provided matter enough, and waighty reasons.

"The next day all the Ministers in the Diocesse were met to subscribe. Now so it was that in a point or two of the articles my conscience did not appeare to me so well resolved, as I could have wished. Therefore I stept a little out of the way hoping that I might escape from being called. But when my Curate came to the booke, who, I supposed, would never have stood at it, by reason of some discourse I had formerly with him, he withdrew himselfe as unwilling to subscribe; and thereupon I was called for, and the booke held out unto me; when straightwayes I had these thoughts in my selfe: "My greatest confidence is reposed in this religion, because it giveth glory to God, and authority to the word of God for the rooting out of superstition, and humane doctrines. Onely

[5] *Came the visitors.*] See above, Life of Jewel.

mine heart doubted in certaine points of smaller consequence, which God (as I hope) shall in time reveale unto me. If I shall refuse, I shall be a meanes to make many others to refuse, and so consequently hinder the course of the word of God." Therefore I subscribed; and the night following I sent unto Doctor Sandes my protestation touching those two points which had troubled me. He being nothing offended tooke my protestation very courteously: so my Curate subscribed also, and the day following fell sicke. And whiles I was gone along with the visitors to Kendall and Lancaster, he dyed before my returne, having not beene sicke a whole weeke. Some supposed that subscription killed his heart; others said his infirmity proceeded from excessive drinking: God onely knoweth what was the cause of his death.

"In processe of time, me thought I grew more and more strengthened and resolved: but I will confesse the truth, I had many and grievous temptations, which would not let me sleepe for many nights, and drave me betwixt sleeping and waking into such dreames, as I thinke few men ever had the like. My nature did ever desire to avoid controversies. My chiefest comfort and indeavour was to preach Christ, and salvation through Christ plainly and sincerely, and to comfort my selfe in the most sweet promises of holy Scripture, and in pouring out my prayers to God. The insatiable covetousnesse that could be restrained by no bounds of temperance and moderation, together with the pride and carnall liberty, and other vices of the same ranke, which raigned among all sorts and degrees of people, but most of all in us the Priests and Ministers, who ought to be as we are termed, *the Salt of the earth*, have oftentimes broke my sleepes. But recovering I quieted my selfe in God, saying, surely

surely how much more the iniquity of men doth abound, so much the more glorious shall God appeare in purging, sanctifying, and preserving his elect people in the midst of a froward generation.

"I was ever sollicitous and wary either in subscriptions or oathes not to be catched in a trap. It appeared enough to me, and sufficient for the Doctours of the Church, that all men were satisfied in the Scriptures and the Articles of the faith; in other things as they are agreeable to Scripture: because the holy Scripture ought to holde soveraigne place and preheminency above all the writings of all men. I remember when I went to be admitted into orders by the Bishop of Oxford, that the Bishops Chaplaine did administer an oath unto us that we should allow the ordinations already made, or hereafter to be made. Touching which oath when we considered somewhat seriously what it was to oblige our selves to ordinations to come, concerning which we could resolve upon nothing, these things not only much distracted me but troubled nine or ten more, who were sworne with me, men farre better schollers then my selfe. For my part I resolved to be sworne to no writings but with this exception[6], so farre onely as they are agreeable to the word of God. Now, how much it distressed my minde that an oath should be exacted in doubtfull cases, I have explained in another discourse for the quiet of my conscience. And this I may boldly say,

[6] *But with this exception.*] But let us hear on this head another sensible and considerate writer. "We censure and condemn a subscribing to our Articles with this reservation, viz. *As far as they are agreeable with Scripture;* this being a way of eluding these tests of our religious opinions, and in effect no subscription at all. Are the Articles of the Church of England really agreeable with Scripture, or are they not? If they are *not*, then every honest man should decline any subscription to them; because, by this act, he openly professes

say, that since I tooke the course to explaine mine infirmities by writing, not fearing who tooke notice of them, so that it might benefit my selfe or others, I have found exceeding peace and quiet of conscience, and am day by day more edified and confirmed by the reading of Scriptures. And in this case, I praise God, that when I found my selfe most distressed and weake, my faith in the mercies of God was so firme, as I assure my selfe, that if at that very instant I should die, yet I have had and doe retaine that confidence, that these distractions could nothing hinder my salvation. I am resolved with St. Paul, *I have obtained mercy, for I did it ignorantly;* and with *Job, Although the Lord kill me, yet will I trust in him.* Yet I have full many a time asked God mercy for these offences, infirmities, ignorances, and all other things, and will ever doe so whiles I shall live in this world. God be mercifull unto us all."

Thus farre Mr. Gilpin.

Thou seest (reader) Mr. Gilpins upright dealing. He speaketh nothing of his owne vertues, but he is wholly taken up with the acknowledgement and enumeration of his weaknesses. Perhaps some criticks will laugh at the simplicity of the man, but I herein admire his apostolick spirit, who after the example of blessed Paul dare not boast of himselfe, but boasteth in his infirmities, that Christ may dwell in him. Neverthelesse, howsoever he is wholly taken up with declaration of his owne infirmities, and hath of set purpose spoke nothing of his owne

fesses his belief, that they are agreeable with Scripture. But if any persons will however insist on this reservation, then let them consider that the subscription and the reservation, taken together, amount to this, viz. I do declare, that these Articles are agreeable with Scripture, so far forth as they are agreeable with Scripture." Bishop Coneybeare's Sermon on Subscription to Articles of Religion.

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vertues, yet this is apparant that he was twice accused by his back-friends to Bishop Tonstall in the dayes of Queene Mary: But Bishop Tonstall who abhorred to shed blood was a sweet defence to Mr. Gilpin against the divers informations of his enemies. At the last he was accused to Bonner Bishop of London, who gave order to a messenger for his apprehension. Mr. Gilpin perceived the imminent danger, (for he had notice that a messenger was dispatched to attach his body) and perceiving the reliefe which he had found in Tonstalls clemency would now faile him, he prepared his holy soule for martyrdome: commanding William Airy the steward of his house to provide him a long garment, that he might goe the more comely to the stake. But the sodaine death[7] of Queene Mary freed the man from this danger.

After the publication of the Councell of Trent, when by chance there happened some discourse betwixt Mr. Gilpin and Thomas Lever, and Lever had asked the question what Mr. Gilpin thought touching that Councell: "The Fathers of the Councell of Trent" (saith he) "have done the Church a very shrewd turne: for that which was indifferent before times they leave not so now. I remember that Bishop Tonstall often tolde me that Pope Innocent the third had done very unadvisedly, in that he had made the opinion of Transubstan-

[7] *But the sodaine death.*] "In his way to London, it is said, he broke his leg, which put a stop for some time to his journey. The persons in whose custody he was, took occasion thence, maliciously to retort upon him an observation he would frequently make, "That nothing happens to us, but what is intended for our good;" asking him, whether he thought his broken leg was so intended? He answered meekly, "He made no question but it was." And indeed so it proved in the strictest sense: for before he was able to travel, Q. Mary died, and he was set at liberty." Gilpin's *Life of Bernard Gilpin*. p. 216.

tiation an article of faith: seeing in former times it was free to holde or refuse that opinion. Moreover the Bishop tolde me that he did not doubt but that himselfe, if he had beene in that Councell, could have prevailed with the Pope to have let that businesse alone. And what he judged concerning Transubstantiation, the same may a man resolve touching all Popery after the publication of the Councel of Trent; for that which was indifferent before, now they doe not suffer so to be. Therefore I suppose that the times of our forefathers, though oppressed with much ignorance, were happier farre then the ensuing ages can be under the Papists: because they have now altered in the Councel of Trent many institutions of the auncient Church. For whereas they have placed a part of the rule of faith in traditions, that is a thing which was never done in the Church before. Many things which were permitted to be taught in the Church formerly touching Justification and the Sacraments are not now tolerated. And upon these occasions the Fathers of the Councel of Trent have laid upon other churches a necessity of making a seperation from the Church of Rome: wherein me thinks that they have not dealt advisedly: For the Church is thereby distracted into differences and factions, and whatsoever was formely indifferent in doubtfull points, the Fathers of Trent have made it all necessary, and tooke upon them a very hard taske."

There were some Papists, who perceiving Mr. Gilpin quite alienated from the Popish religion, which he had first beene of in the dayes of his ignorance in his youth, tooke many courses to have recalled him, if they could possibly. Amongst them was one Thomas Gelthrop a man well descended, and a kinsman of Mr. Gilpins. This man wrote a letter to Mr. Gilpin, wherein he dealt earnestly with him not to forsake the religion of his

his forefathers. In that letter Gelthrop amongst other things inserted these words. "You have a great and a good report both at London and in all other places: And I am of this opinion that either you will doe the Church a great deal of good if you adhere unto it, or else (which God forbid) you will stirre up more mischiefe in the Church then ever Arrius did. That sinne aboundeth it is not the fault of the Masse or of the Mattins, but the pernicious doctrine and filthy life of the Clergy, and of others. They have already reformed the Communion, and have published a booke of the reformed Leiturgy. But this reformation hath not removed the evill, because we see the people growne farre worse then before." These things I found out amongst Mr. Gilpins papers, but I could not possibly get any more out of them, the most of them were so exceeding worne and defaced.

Unto this letter Mr. Gilpin made answer, which I found entire. The Letter had this superscription.

To his Coozen THOMAS GELTHROP.

And thus it was.

"Grace and peace. Your large letter was brought unto me, when I had small leisure to answer it, as he can tell you who bringeth back this unto you. Howbeit I thought it not fit to let him come back without an answer, albeit the conclusion of your letter gave me small incouragement to write. For who would take the paines to write unto you, seeing you are fully resolved and determined, as you affirme, never to be perswaded from your opinions by any argument a man can bring? It could not chuse but be a most grievous thing to the Prophet Jeremy, when he cryed out to the people, *Hear the word of the Lord*, that they should

should answer with a stiffe necke, *we will not heare.* But let us leave these things to the divine operation, which is able to mollifie your heart, and to open the eares of the deafe adder that stoppeth the same against the voice of the charmer, charme he never so wisely. You looke back upon the ages passed: you doe well, if also you looke back to the times of the Patriarkes, the Prophets, of Christ, and his Apostles, and other holy men, with whom if you advise without prejudice of blinded affection, they will lead you farre from that blindnesse, from that errour, I may well say, from that grosse idolatry, which crept into the Church while men slept. Whereas you are grieved at the fall of Monasteries and suppression of Abbeys, I am sorry you should be blinded in this case. For very many of your owne religion have confessed that they could not possibly subsist any longer, because the cry of them like the cry of Sodome was ascended into the eares of God. Their Sodomiticall crimes were so manifest that they could not be longer concealed; the Lord could indure those wicked men no longer. But if you call to minde what enemies those men were to the ministry of the word of God, taking away most sacrilegiously[8] the maintenance allowed for the ministers of the word, hardly leaving in the

[8] *Most sacrilegiously.*] For a learned and interesting historical account of the origin and progress of the appropriation of Churches, and the artifices used by the Monks to get the revenues of benefices into their own hands, the evil consequences of which have never since ceased to be felt, but are still operating to a most lamentable degree, See H. Wharton's *Defence of Pluralities*, p. 113—117. edit. 2d. and Kennett *on Impropriations*. p. 21—37. Also Kennett's Preface to Two Tracts *De non temerandis Ecclesiis* by Sir H. Spelman, and Dr. Thomas Ryves's *Poor Vicar's Plea*, where we are told that the appropriated Churches amount to 3845, and the Churches not appropriate are but 5439, through all England and Wales.

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most countries any one rectory unspoiled, you would easily judge that those men could not possibly stand and flourish any longer. This is the fruit of Luthers doctrine, and the whole word of God truely preached, that God shall destroy that wicked one with the breath of his mouth.

" Whereas you say that he which commeth to God must believe, I wish you would consider that thing rightly, that faith and religion can never finde peace and quiet but in the sacred word of God. *Faith commeth by hearing, and hearing by the word of God.* Whence it commeth that whoso beleeveth in bulls, indulgences, images, and many other vaine constitutions of men cannot possibly have true faith. All those things vanish away, wheresoever the word of God hath power and authority. That rest which you say that you finde in the Church of Rome, your Catholick Church forsooth, if you take not the better heed, will undoubtedly faile you in your greatest necessity. You say that you doe not finde in that religion any thing opposite to the Gospell. But if you looke narrowly into it, you may see in that religion the word of God rejected, the Golden Legends and Festivalls, with bulls, indulgences, and many other things of that sort for the most part obtruded upon men in stead of the word of God. But here is a large field and I want leisure. I hope I shall get opportunity to write unto you more at large concerning these things. God open your eyes that you may see the abomination of that citty which is built upon seven hills: (Apoc. 17.) Looke over Hierome upon that place. If in that Church the Sacraments be corrupted, will you reject the grace of God when he openeth the eyes of his servants to reforme these corruptions? Beware of that fearefull sentence of Saint John: *He that is filthy let him*

him be filthy still. You alledge that if you should now begin to drink of another cup, &c. quite forgetting that in the Church of Rome your selfe and all other laymen are utterly excluded from the cup, contrary to the manifest commandement of God, *Drinke ye all of this.* Your learnedest doctors of Lovaine with many others were not able to defend so great an abuse of the Supper. If you call us hereticks, and fly from us, because we have forsaken so great abuses, superstitions and errours, to the end that we might draw neare to the sacred word of God, and holy institutions of Christ, we can appeale from your uncharitable prejudice, and are able to say with Saint Paul, *I little esteeme to be judged of you, it is the Lord which judgeth me.*

" But you alledge that it is a perillous thing to heare our Sermons. So said the persequutours of Saint Stephen, (Acts 7.) and stopped their eares. So spoke Amazia touching Amos the Prophet, (Amos. 7.) *The land is not able to beare all his words.* Like unto which are those whom David compareth to the deafe adder which stoppeth her eares, (Psal. 58.) Like unto whom were many in the time of the Apostles unto whom the Gospell was hid, in whom the God of this world hath blinded the minds of unbelievers, that the light of the Gospell should not shine upon them.

" Touching those Romane thunder-claps[9] there is no great cause why we should be afraid: those bugbeares were invented to affright children, they are are not to be feared by men of yeares. Erasmus calleth them *Bruta fulmina*, foolish false-fires. If there were in the Pope and his Cardinalls, who curse us with so much bitternesse, but the least re-

9 *Those Romane thunder-claps*] The Pope's Bull against Q. Elizabeth, &c. &c. See Life of Jewel.

semblance

semblance of Peter and Paul; had they the fervent charity of those holy men, and their exquisite diligence to feed the flocke of Christ day and night, with other apostolick vertues; then were their threats to be feared: but they have changed the humility of Peter into the pride of Lucifer, the poverty and daily labours of the Apostles into the riches of Cresus, and into the lazinesse and luxury of Sardanapalus. To conclude, what agreement is there betwixt light and darknesse? God hath promised in the second of Malachy, that he will curse their blessings, or turne their blessings into curses, who consider not in their hearts to give glory unto his name. See Hierom upon the third of Esay: Those which call you blessed, seduce you. How many thousands of men are seduced by indulgences, which are extended to many thousands of yeares, if the price be according? The world seeth and is grieved to beholde how the brothers of Saint Johns Hospitall, had granted licences to those who had laid violent hands upon themselves to enjoy the buriall of other Christians, with many such like flattering fictions.

"As touching the life of your grandmother, I never heard but well; but I suppose she was a superstitious woman. If she kept you at home with her out of her tender and naturall affection onely, and not to prevent your knowledge of the Gospell, I shall desire pardon for my mistaking. Yet many men are persuaded that she and your uncles withheld both from your selfe and your sisters a great part of the portion which was left unto you. But let these things passe; seeing I have not beene able to effect, nor have effected as yet any thing for you, that money which was given to me by legacy, I will bestow upon your sister, if it please her, with some

some addition also, because I am persuaded she hath more need of it.

" As concerning the Catholick Church, God is my witnesse, that it is the whole desire of mine heart, and mine assured confidence, that I shall die a member of it. But if I shall be so farre misled by the pompous outside of the Church of Rome, as to approove those intollerable abuses, superstitions, and idolatries, which so many wayes rob God of his honour, I should not believe my selfe a member of Jesus Christ. If you approove of none interpretation of Scriptures, but what proceeds from Rome, you may easily affirme whatsoever you please. There is nothing so absurd, or so contrary to the truth of the eternall God, which may not be wrested by their corrupt glosses, as it may seeme to serve to a wicked cause. With such kinde of men is no disputation to be held. As for that which you inferre touching Arrius, and the rest of that ranke, it is nothing to the purpose. For all the writings of the Prophets, together with other manifest Scriptures, whereunto we ought to have recourse in doubts of this nature, and to be concluded by them, doe evidently confound Arrius, and all the rest his partakers. Consubstantiality, which the Greekes call ὁμοούσιον, is confirmed by very many evident testimonies of Scripture. But so is not Transubstantiation, which hath so molested the braines of Scotus, Occam, Biel, and all the schoole divines, that many a time they are shrewdly put to it, what they had best say for removing the absurdities which arise therefrom. Therefore it is apparant that it is a meere fiction without any foundation of Scripture. So that Scotus, (as Bishop Tonstall did many times ingenuously confesse) was of opinion that the Church might better,

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and with more ease make use of some more commodious exposition of these words in the holy Supper. And the Bishop was of the minde that we ought to speake reverently of the holy Supper, as did the auncient Fathers, but that the opinion of Transubstantiation might well be let alone. This thing also the same Bishop Tonstall was wont to affirme both in words and writings, that Innocent the third knew not what he did when he put Transubstantiation among the articles of faith; and he said that Innocentius wanted learned men about him; and indeed, (saith the Bishop) if I had beene of his Councell, I make no doubt but I might have beene able to have disswaded him from that resolution. When Mr. Chedsey said that the Catholicks should doe well to give way in the Article of Transubstantiation, I heard not himselfe speak the words, but one which heard him tolde me. Whereas you write touching the imprisonment of him and others[1], truly I am of the opinion, that as for this present life, they live most quietly. Nor doe I think that themselves could have made choice of a more retired kinde of life, if the sting of conscience trouble them not, for maintaining a cause that is not good, but built upon the sand. But if you will needes have it that men must of necessity connive at the beastly and abominable lives of so many Romane Bishops, above thirty; you may also finde fault with our Saviour himselfe, for discovering so plainly the pernicious enormities, both of the Pharises, (who in those times were accounted forsooth the holy Fathers) and also of their fathers then dead: you may blame also the Prophet Esay, who

[1] *The imprisonment of him and others.*] Comp. Strype's *Annals*. Vol. I. p. 142—148. edit. 2. *Life of Parker*. p. 89. 140—142.

will

will not have evill men to be called good, denouncing a curse against that man, who calleth him holy that is not holy: find fault also with saint Bernard, who calleth them the ministers of Antichrist. Those things which other godly men have written to this purpose, doe worthily excuse us. He blameth those things openly concerning which he confesseth that it is a shame to speake: I reveale not hidden things (saith he) but I reproove things publickely knowne: unto which thing we are even obliged by the commandement of God. (Esaia. 58. 1.) *Shew my people their sinnes.*

"Whereas you say that five Sacraments are rejected by us, you doe not say well, rejected, for wee use them reverently, according to the word of God; nor doe we take away[a] the name of the Sacrament, as the word Sacrament is generally used, as was the washing of feete, and many other things which may retaine the name of a Sacrament in generall, as also they doe among the fathers. But the auncient fathers and some schoole-men doe affirme, that onely Baptisme and the Eucharist are properly called Sacraments. It is also the testimony of Bessarion: We read (saith he) of these two Sacraments onely manifestly delivered in the Gospell. I wonder at you that you doe so wrest the words of Saint Paul to such a sence, as that out of those words all the ceremonies of the masse may be esta-

[a] *Nor doe we take away.*] Thus in the first book of Homilies, *Against Swearing and Perjury.* p. 59. edit. 1802. Matrimony is expressly stiled a Sacrament; "By like holy promise *the Sacrament of Matrimony* knitteth man and wife in perpetual love." And again, speaking of the ordering of Ministers, it is said, that "neither it nor *any other* Sacrament else, be *such Sacraments* as Baptism and the Communion are. But in a general acception, the name of a Sacrament may be attributed to any thing, whereby an holy thing is signified." P. 299.

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lished: whereas you cannot be ignorant, that the greatest part of them hath ben added many ages after by the Bishops of Rome. Wee reade also that the Apostles consecrated with the words of the Gospell, and with the Lords prayer. Moreover, whereas Saint Paul had even at that time ordayned already, that the people should not only eate the bread with the minister (as his owne words doe manifestly proove) but also drinke of the cup; you see how these fellowes have utterly robbed the Church of that ordination of Christ and his Apostles: but how justly, or by what good authority they have done thus, let themselves looke unto it, I could never in my reading find out the ground of that authority. I find the contrary; to wit, that all men are altogether forbidden to alter any thing touching the word and will of God, delivered in the holy Scriptures.

"You say that the Scriptures allow prayer for the dead; and that you know this well enough. Saint Hierom saith, that the booke of Macchabes is profitable for manners, not to establish doctrine. You alledge that Saint Augustine doubted in many places whether there be a purgatorie. If that be a doubtfull poynt, then it is not to be obtruded as an article of faith: but to be left indifferent. For, *faith is a substance:* (Heb. 11. 1.) and faith ought not to waver, saith Saint James. The Bishop of Rochester, [1] writeth concerning purgatory, that amongst the auncients, there was either little or no mention of it. And so long as there was no care taken for purgatorie, no man sought after indulgences. And so those innumerable gaynes by pardons were never knowne before purgatory was found out. What shall we now say to bee meant

[1] *The Bishop of Rochester.*] Bishop Fisher.

by those words of Saint Paul, *esteeming gayne godlines*, if this be not it. This mart hath fed and still doth feed many idle bellyes, who stoutly drive away the word of God to the best of their abillity, that they may not loose their swine. Howbeit at the last the truth shall prevail, how ever these men have conspired together.

" As touching that which you adde concerning the invocation of Saints, Saint Augustine exhorteth us rather to stand to the Scriptures, then either to his writings, or the writings of others: and not to build upon his writing without the authoritie of Scriptures. And surely in this poynt my conscience is resolved, that there is not one poynt of all these which are controverted, that is proved by more evident testimonyes of Scripture, then this, that God alone is to be prayed unto, and by one mediator, namely Jesus Christ. Rom. 10. 13. How shall they call on him in whome they have not beleeved? We must beleeve in God onely, therefore he onely is to bee prayed unto. That distinction touching invocation and advocation, that albeit you allow not the invocation of Saints, at the least you allow their advocation, is frivolous: because, as those men robb Christ of his honour, who seeke another mediator, so these are no lesse injurious to Christ, who seeke another advocate because we have Christ an advocate with the father. (1. Joh. 2. 1.) and Esai. 63: he affirmeth that *Abraham knoweth us not*. Truly I assure my selfe, that Abraham the father of the faithfull, is no lesse a Saint, then any other of the Saints in heaven. You say, you beleeve the communion of Saints, which we also doe all of us beleeve: but you inferre thereupon, that you understand not how there can be a communion of Saints, if the Saints departed doe not pray for us, and we call upon

upon them for assistance. But the Church of Christ understandeth the communion of Saints farre otherwise. For in the usuall phrase of Scripture, Saints are not understood to be those that are departed, and whose soules are in heaven, but those who are living here on the earth. Nor shall you almost thorough the whole Scripture of the Old and New Testament find the name of Saint given to any man, but that thereby is understood a Saint living heere on the earth. Yea, sometimes the Scripture speaketh more expressely as in Psal. 16. 3: *to the Saints which are on the earth: all my delight is in them.* If any man ever had or could have a communion with the Saints in heaven, surely David had it. But he expoundeth the communion wherewith he was acquainted, that is the communion of Saints on earth. So Saint John expoundeth this poynt. 1. John: 1. 3. *What we have seene and knowne that declare we unto you, that ye also may have communion with us, and that our communion may be with God, and with his son Jesus Christ.* First, all the Church of Christ have communion with the Apostolick Church, *that you may have communion with us:* Secondly, this communion of Saints shall consist in the preaching the word, and in the participation of diverse gifts for the edification of the Church in publicke and private prayers. Thirdly, but in powering out of our prayers we have communion with the Father and the Sonne, or with the Father by the Sonne. Heere is no mention at all, no respect had to the Saints departed. This communion according to the words of holy Scripture extendeth no further then to the Church on earth. The Saints departed are not called in Scripture simply Saints, but the *Congregation of the first borne in heaven, and the*

spirits of just and perfect men. (Heb: 12. 23.) After this life we shall have communion with them, but as for those who require this communion with them in this life, let them either product from the Scripture what they say, or let them heare that sentence of our blessed Lord, *In vaine doe ye worship me, teaching for doctrines the traditions of men.* (Math: 15. 9.)

" I confesse that if you have respect to the use of this our age, or some former ones, the deceased are called Saints; but it is not the custome of this or that age, but the rule of the holy Scripture that is propounded for our imitation. But what doe we contending about this point? Those men who stand so hard for invocation of Saints shall grant it us to be a thing indifferent: for indeed it is the safest way to goe to the fountaine of mercy it selfe, and let the streames alone. Nor suffer those men to perswade you, who say that they detract nothing from God, by directing their prayers to the Saints: For no man can detract from God more then he who transferreth the worship due to God alone unto the creature. For invocation is a part of divine worship: and this worship hee communicateth to no creature, who will not give his glory to another.

" As for your arguments touching images, and fasting (which point of fasting God forbid that either I or any one should deny, yea rather we exhort all persons to the practice of it, onely we desire to have the superstition and wicked opinions remooved) together with those other arguments touching relicks and exorcismes in casting out uncleane spirits forsooth, which thing when it leadeth to idolatry is the signe of a false prophet: (Deut. 13.) Although answer might be made to all these with

with much ease, yet because I now want leisure, as being over laden with imployments, in regard that I am destitute of a Curate at this time, and have a very large parish to visite, and also my body is weak, and subject to faint with wearinesse, being worne out with paynes taking: therefore in all these respectes, I have thought it fitting to deferre mine answere to these points untill another time.

" If you be unwilling to come to Houghton upon Sunday next, because you will not be an offence to my parishioners (in which case you cannot blame me if I appeare very carefull of my parishioners, in regard of the great charge laid upon me, for it is apparent in the times of the prophets, and in all succeeding ages since, that the vulgar people have been too too prone to superstition, and a mischief doth increase easily, and creep further in one day, then good lessons in a whole moneth,) therefore, Sunday excepted (unlesse you will come up into the Quire, which in my judgment you ought not to refuse), if you come straightwayes after the Sabbath day is ended, and depart about Saterday noone, you shall bee heartily welcome: therefore that excuse which you pretend ought not to retarde your accesse. And although your last conclusion doe (as I told you already) take away all hope and confidence from a man who shall conferre with you, yet I will not cease to hope better things touching your conversion then you seeme to hope of your selfe. Saint Paul had once a firme resolution to dye a Pharisy, and a persecuter of Christians; but God had reserved for him the treasure of power and mercy, to the end that he might ordayne him to preach that glorious name which he had formerly persecuted. I commend you to the goodnes of the Almightie God, which

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is able by the spirit of knowledge, to leade you into all truth. Fare ye well. From Houghton the 14. of October, 1580. Your loving Uncle
BERNARD GILPIN."

So long as Bishop Pilkinton lived, Mr. Gilpin had a most kind friend of him, after whose decease Richard Barnes succeeded [4] in the bishopricke. This man was somewhat offended with Mr. Gilpin; and hereby hangeth a story which I must fetch somewhat farre. Mr. Gilpin was accustomed sometimes to ride to Oxford, especially in his younger time when he was able to endure travell. Now it happened upon a time as he was upon his way towards Oxford, that he espyed by the way side a youth one while walking and another while running. Mr. Gilpin demanded of him who he was, whence he came, and whither he was going. He made answer that he came out of Wales, and that he was bound for Oxford with intent to be a scholler. Mr. Gilpin examineth the youth, and findeth him a prompt scholler in the Latine, and that he had a little smattering in the Greeke. "And wilt thou" (saith Mr. Gilpin) "be contented to goe with me? I will provide for thee." The youth was contented: whereupon Mr. Gilpin tooke him along with him first to Oxford, afterwards to Houghton, where he profited exceedingly both in Greeke and Hebrew: whom Mr. Gilpin at the last sent to Cambridge. And this was that famous Hugh Broughton so exceeding apt in learning the Greeke and Hebrew, but a man of a most inconstant nature. For when Mr. Gilpin grew olde, whether it was in expectation of Mr. Gilpins

[4] *Richard Barnes succeeded.*] He was elected to the see of Durham April 5th. 1577. Le Neve's *Fasti*, p. 347.

parsonage,

parsonage, or for some other cause, it is reported that he procured Mr. Gilpin to be troubled and molested by the Bishop of Durham. Now so it fell out, that whiles the Bishops minde began to be turned from Mr. Gilpin, the Bishop sendeth unto him and giveth him notice that it is his pleasure to have him to preach at a visitation in time and place appointed. Which thing fell out at the very same instant when Mr. Gilpin was preparing for his accustomed northerne journey, to wit, amongst them of Riddesdale and Tindale: wherefore he dispatched his servant unto the Bishop to make his excuse unto him, and to informe his Lordship the reason of his purposed journey; and to intreat the Bishop that he be pleased to appoint some other to preach at the visitation, seeing there were many who would be willing enough to preach at the visitation, but that there was not a man who would performe that duty among those borders if he neglected it: and that at any other time he would be ready to performe his duty. The servant having beene with the Bishop returneth to his master, who demanded of him whether hee had made his excuse to the Bishop: "I have, saith he?" Well, and what" (saith Mr. Gilpin) "was the Bishops answer?" Whereunto the servant answered, the Bishop made no reply, but held his peace. "*Qui tacet, consentire videtur*," saith Mr. Gilpin: "He that replyeth not seems to consent." Therefore Mr. Gilpin went on with his progresse. Which thing so soon as the Bishop understood, he presently suspended Mr. Gilpin from all ecclesiastical imployment. Mr. Gilpin returning home findeth himselfe suspended, a thing that he little dreamed of, yet he tooke it patiently. The Bishop having notice that Mr. Gilpin was returned home, sendeth unto him instantly, warning him to meete him and the rest of the

clergy

clergy at Chester[5]. Mr. Gilpin being come to Chester findeth there the Bishop with many of the clergy, who were all commanded to assemble themselves in the church. The Bishop had at that time a brother of his owne one John Barnes who was his Chancellour, a man, of whom it is hard to say whether he was more lustfull or more covetous: who whereas he should have beene the man that ought to have reformed many enormities in the Diocesse, was indeed the authour of them, permitting base and dishonest persons to escape scotfree for a piece of money, so that the Bishop had a very ill report every where. When they were all met together the Bishop calleth Mr. Gilpin unto him, and saith, Mr. Gilpin, I must have you preach to day. Mr. Gilpin desired to be excused, "for I came not" (saith he) "provided; and moreover I am suspended." "But I can free you" (saith the Bishop) "from that suspension, and doe now free you." Mr. Gilpin replyed, that he durst not goe up into the pulpit unprovided. "But we know" (saith the Bishop) "that you are never unprovided, for you have now gotten such an habit of preaching, that you are able to performe it, if you please, even upon the sodaine." Mr. Gilpin remained unmooveable in his resolution, answering that God was not so to be tempted, saying that it was well with him, if he were able to performe any thing in this kinde upon mature deliberation. Whereunto the Bishop replyed, "I command you upon your canonicall obedience to goe up into the puplit forthwith." Mr. Gilpin delaying the time a little while, answered: "Well sir, seeing it can be none otherwise, your Lord-

5 *At Chester.*] "A towne in the diocese of Durham, where the bishops of that see formerly resided." Gilpin's *Life of Bernard Gilpin.* p. 277.

ships

ships will be done:" and after a little pause began his sermon. As hee was in his sermon hee observed some extraordinarily prepared who wrote all he spoke. But yet he proceedeth in his sermon, untill he came to a word of exhortation, and reprehension of vices. At the last he proceeded to the reproofe of those enormities which then raigned in that Diocesse, and were every where spoken of. And now, saith he "Reverend Father, my speech must be directed to your fatherhood. God hath exalted you to be Bishop of this Diocesse, and God requireth an account of your government therof: a reformation of all those matters which are amisse in this church is expected at your hands, and an account thereof is required. And now lest perhaps, while it is apparant that so many enormities are committed every where, your Lordship should make answer that you had no notice of them given you, neither did these things ever come to your knowledge," (which words Mr. Gilpin used, because hee knew well enough that this was the Bishops usual answer, that whensoever men made any complaints against the evill government of the Chancellor, the Bishop was accustomed to say, alas, these things I never knew of: what is done can not be undone; I will take a better order in these matters hereafter, if any such shall come to my knowledge.) "beholde, said Mr. Gilpin, I bring these things to your knowledge this day: let not your Lordship say these crimes have beene committed by the fault of others without your knowledge: for whatsoever either your self shall doe in person, or suffer through your connivency to be done by others, is wholy your owne. Therefore in the presence of God, his angels, and men, I pronounce your fatherhood to be the author of all these evills, yea and in that strict day of the generall

generall account I shall be a witnes to testifie against you that all these things have come to your knowledge by my means; and all these men shall beare witnesse hereof who have heard me speaking unto you this day." Now whiles that Mr. Gilpin thundered out these things, hee did thereby put all his friends into a great feare, and distrust what would become of him. Therefore when he had made an end of his sermon, his friends came about him and tolde him with teares, that now at last the Bishop had gotten that advantage against him which hee had long desired and sought for: "you have," say they, "put a sword into his hand to slay you: if heretofore he hath beene offended with you without a cause, what may you now expect from him, who being provoked shall make use of his owne power to injure you by right or wrong?" to whom Mr. Gilpin made answer, saying: "Be not afraid: the Lord God overruleth us all: so that the truth may be propagated, and God glorified, Gods will be done concerning me." After the sermon they met all together at dinner, and all men were afraid that the Bishop would have done Mr. Gilpin some shrewd turn for his sermon, and silently expected what would become of the matter. After dinner Mr. Gilpin commeth to the Bishop to see him, and to take leave of him, and so to returne homewards. "It shall not be so," said the Bishop, "for I will bring you to your house:" And so Mr. Gilpin returned home in the company of the Bishop.

And when they were now come to Mr. Gilpin's house, and walked within into the parlour, the Bishop upon a sodaine caught Mr. Gilpin by the hand, and used these words upon him: "Father Gilpin, I acknowledge you are fitter to be Bishop of Durham, then my selfe to be parson of this church

church of yours: I aske forgivenesse for errours passed; forgive me father: I know you have hatched up some chickens that now seeke to pick out your eyes; but so long as I shall live Bishop of Durham, be secure, no man shall injure you." Mr. Gilpin's friends, that is all good men, began to rejoyce, and to give God thanks, acknowledging the powerfull hand of God, in that the Bishop being so offended with him, was so prevented by the power of God, as that the thing which he had purposed for his disgrace, should turne to his greater credit. In the meane while Mr. Gilpin reaped the fruit of a pious life in all plentifull manner.

After that age began to grow upon him, there was in the towne of Newcastle one Genison who had received to home a sonne of his owne brothers lately returned from the parts beyond the seas. This Genison was much aggrieved for that his brothers sonne was (as he understood) made a jesuite: whereupon hee sent the young man to Mr. Gilpin, intreating him to have a care of him, and to disswade him if he could possibly from his wicked and dangerous opinions. After that Mr. Gilpin had often conferred with him, he found the young fellow most insolently proud, and armed with boldnesse and impudence, corrupting the holy Scriptures with certaine new and unheard of expositions. Whereupon Mr. Gilpin wrote to his uncle Mr. Genison, that he was a most audacious young fellow, and came not to him to be instructed, but to teach him rather.

"The young fellow," saith he, "thinking I know not how, a great deale too well of himselfe, had an hope to draw me at these yeares, to acknowledge certaine absurdities. I see that the jesuites have found out certaine new expositions of Scripture

ture never heard of heretofore: they cast away all respect, and set upon men with impudency. They dare prove the invocation of saints from Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. This fellow doth obstinately affirme that the Church of Rome hath not erred in any one thing. Their most horrible errours touching indulgences, falsified miracles, falsified reliques, pilgrimages, worshipping of images, and the rest of the same sort, all these this wonderful man findeth out in the Gospell. And hee standeth upon it stiffely that all these things are good and holy. I desire not to have any more to doe with such a monstrous kinde of men, with such fierce natures, who open their mouthes against heaven; for what is it to open their mouthes against heaven, if this be not, so violently and disgracefully to handle the holy Scriptures? they have devised and daily doe devise horrible strange expositions, such as were never heard of before in the Church of Rome: I therefore desire to rid mine hands of this fellow as of a scabbed sheepe, for feare he might infect my whole flocke."

After that his leane body was quite worne out[6]

[6] *Quite worne out.*] "While he was thus struggling with an advanced age, and impaired constitution, he met with an accident, which entirely destroyed his health. As he was crossing the market-place at Durham, an Ox ran at him, and pushed him down with such violence, that it was imagined the bruises he received would have occasioned his death. He lay long confined; and though he again got abroad, he never recovered even the little strength he had before, and continued lame as long as he lived. But accidents of this kind were no very formidable trials to a mind so well tempered as his. It was a persuasion he had long entertained, that misfortunes are intended by Providence to remind us of our neglected duty: and thus he always used them, making self-examination the constant attendant upon whatever calamities befel him. To this it was owing that he was never dejected by misfortunes: but received them rather with thankfulness than repining." Gilpin's *Life of Bernard Gilpin.* p. 296.

with

with diversity of paines-taking, at the last even feeling before hand the approach of death, he commanded the poore to be called together, unto whom hee made a speech, and tooke his leave of them. Afterwards he did the like to others. He fell sick about the latter end of February, and after many exhortations used to the schollers, to his servants, and to divers others, at the last he fell asleep in the Lord, in great peace, the fourth day of March, in the yeare of our Lord 1583, and in the 66. yeare of his age.

He was tall of stature, and slender, being hawke-nosed. His clothes were ever such as cost not very deare. He could never away with gay apparell. In things belonging to his owne body he was very frugall, and retained the austerity of the auncient. In things which might tend to the good of others he was exceeding bountifull, especially towards poore people and schollers. He desired still to keep his dores open [7] for the entertainment of any poore, or stranger. In his owne house he boorded and

[7] *To keepe his dores open.*] "Strangers and travellers found a chearful reception. All were welcome that came: and even their beasts had so much care taken of them, that it was humorously said, "If a horse was turned loose in any part of the country, it would immediately make its way to the Rector of Houghton's." Gilpin's *Life of Bernard Gilpin.* p. 284.

"Whatever" (says the same writer) "becomes of the notion of the soul's transmigration, one would imagine however, that Mr. Gilpin's example at least had its influence upon the Rectors of Houghton; for perhaps few parishes in England can boast such a succession of worthy pastors, as that parish can since Mr. Gilpin's death." p. 314.

We may believe that the influence of this good man's example did not stop here. His amiable Biographer himself, it is well known, spent a long life, distinguished by purity of manners, useful learning, deeds of charity and piety, and an apostolical zeal in the discharge of his duties as a preacher of the

and kept at the most foure and twenty schollers, sometimes fewer, but seldome. The greater number of his boorders were poore mens sonnes, upon whom he bestowed meat, drink, and cloth, and education in learning. He was wont to enterteine his parishioners and strangers at his table not onely at the Christmas time, as the custome is, but because he had a large and wide parish, and a great multitude of people, he kept a table for them every Sunday from Michaelmas to Easter. He had the gentlemen, the husbandmen, and the poorer sort set every degree by themselves, and as it were ordered in ranks. He was wont to commend the marryed estate in the clergy, howbeit himselfe lived and dyed a single man. He bestowed in the building, ordering and establishing of his schoole, and in providing yearly stipends for a schoole-master and an usher, the full summe of five hundred pounds: out of which schoole he supplied the Church of England with great store of learned men. He was carefull to avoid not onely all evill doing, but even the lightest suspicions thereof. And he was accounted a saint in the judgements of his very enemies if he had any such. Being full of faith unfeigned, and of good workes, he was at the last put into his grave as a heap of wheat in due time swept into the garner.

the Gospel. His good works in *kind* as well as degree, and some of the circumstances of his life, can hardly fail to call back, to those who are at all acquainted with the particulars, the memory of Bernard Gilpin: to whom perhaps he was very little inferior, excepting in so far as his powers of doing good were limited by a less portion of the gifts of fortune.

RICHARD HOOKER.

As the weightiest conflicts the Church hath had, were those which touched the Head, the Person of our Saviour Christ; and the next of importance, those questions that are at this day between Us and the Church of Rome, about the actions of the Body of the Church of God: so *these which have lastly sprung* up from Complements, Rites and Ceremonies of Church-actions, are in truth for the greatest part, such silly things, that very easiness doth make them hard to be disputed of in serious manner. HOOKER.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Life of Hooker, written by Isaac Walton, was first published, separately, in the year 1665 (which is the date in the title page), or rather at the latter end of the year 1664. It is here printed, as are the Lives of Donne, Wotton, and Herbert, from the fourth edition of the year 1675. Dr. Zouch informs us that he has thought it, "expedient to deviate from the edition of 1675 in the Life of Mr. Hooker, by adopting that which was last revised by Walton, and is prefixed to Hooker's Works printed at London in 1723, and at Oxford in 1793, yet without admitting those passages which Mr. Strype has introduced into the text." It is to be regretted that in this deviation so much deference was paid to Mr. Strype's example. For the copy which he prefixed to Hooker's Works in 1723, was no other than the first edition of 1665, or rather perhaps, that which was prefixed to Hooker's Works in 1666, and wanted therefore, the numerous improvements which were introduced by the Author in his subsequent revisions. In the present edition, the additions introduced by Mr. Strype are retained. They tend considerably to illustrate Hooker's opinions respecting some important points of doctrine; and to exhibit in its true colours the character of that saint-like man.

To the Right Honourable and Reverend Father in God,

GEORGE,

Lord Bishop of Winchester, and Prelate of the Most Noble Order of the Garter.

MY LORD,

I DID, some years past, present you with a plain relation of the life of Mr. Richard Hooker, that humble man, to whose memory princes and the most learned of this nation have paid a reverence at the mention of his name.—And, now, with Mr. Hooker's I present you also the Life of that pattern of primitive piety, Mr. George Herbert; and, with his, the Life of Dr. Donne, and your friend Sir Henry Wotton, all reprinted.—The two first were written under your roof; for which reason, if they were worth it, you might justly challenge a dedication: and indeed, so you might of Dr. Donne's, and Sir Henry Wotton's: because, if I had been fit for this undertaking, it would not have been by acquired learning or study; but by the advantage of forty years friendship, and thereby with hearing and discoursing with your Lordship, that hath enabled me to make the relation of these lives passable (if they prove so) in an eloquent and captious age.

And indeed, my Lord, though these relations be well-meant sacrifices to the memory of these worthy men; yet, I have so little confidence in my performance, that I beg pardon for superscribing your name to them; and desire all that know your Lord-

ship, to apprehend this not as a dedication, (at least by which you receive any addition of honour;) but rather, as an humble, and a more public acknowledgment of your long-continued, and your now daily favours to,

My Lord,

Your most affectionate

and

most humble servant,

IZAAC WALTON.

TO

TO THE

READER.

THOUGH the several Introductions to these several Lives have partly declared the reasons how and why I undertook them; yet, since they are come to be reviewed, and augmented, and reprinted; and the four are now become one book; I desire leave to inform you that shall become my reader, that when I sometime look back upon my education and mean abilities, it is not without some little wonder at myself, that I am come to be publicly in print. And though I have in those Introductions declared some of the accidental reasons that occasioned me to be so; yet, let me add this to what is there said: that, by my undertaking to collect some notes for Sir Henry Wotton's writing the Life of Dr. Donne, and by Sir Henry's dying before he performed it, I became like those men that enter easily into a law-suit, or a quarrel, and having begun, cannot make a fair retreat and be quiet, when they desire it.—And really, after such a manner I became engaged, into a necessity of writing the Life of Dr. Donne, contrary to my first intentions: and that begot a like necessity of writing the Life of his and my ever-honoured friend, Sir Henry Wotton.

And having writ these two lives, I lay quiet twenty years, without a thought of either troubling myself or others, by any new engagement in this kind,

kind, for I thought I knew my unfitness. But about that time Dr. Gauden [1] (then Lord Bishop of Exeter) published the Life of Mr. Richard Hooker, (so he called it) with so many dangerous mistakes, both of him and his books, that discoursing of them with his Grace, Gilbert, that now is Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, he enjoined me to examine some circumstances, and then rectify the Bishop's mistakes, by giving the world a fuller and a truer account of Mr. Hooker and his books than that Bishop had done: and I know I have done so. And, let me tell the Reader, that till his Grace had laid this injunction upon me, I could not admit a thought of any fitness in me to undertake it: but when he had twice enjoined me to it, I then declined my own, and trusted his judgment, and submitted to his commands; concluding that if I did not, I could not forbear accusing myself of disobedience; and indeed of ingratitude for his many favours. Thus I became engaged into the third Life.

For the Life of that great example of holiness Mr. George Herbert, I profess it to be so far a free-will offering, that it was writ chiefly to please myself; but yet not without some respect to posterity; for though he was not a man that the next age can forget, yet many of his particular acts and virtues might have been neglected, or lost, if I had not collected and presented them to the imitation of those that shall succeed us: for I humbly conceive writing to be both a safer and truer preserver

[1] *Doctor Gauden.*] This Life was prefixed to "the Works of Mr. Richard Hooker in eight books of Ecclesiastical Polity, now compleated, as with the sixth and eighth, so with the seventh, out of his own manuscripts, never before published. 1662." Folio.

of men's virtuous actions than tradition, especially as it is managed in this age. And I am also to tell the Reader, that though this Life of Mr. Herbert was not by me writ in haste, yet I intended it a review before it should be made public: but that was not allowed me, by reason of my absence from London when it was printing; so that the Reader may find in it some mistakes, some double expressions, and some not very proper, and some that might have been contracted, and some faults that are not justly chargable upon me but the printer: and yet I hope none so great as may not by this confession purchase pardon from a good-natured Reader.

And now, I wish that as that learned Jew, Josephus and others, so these men had also writ their own lives: but since it is not the fashion of these times, I wish their relations or friends would do it for them, before delays make it too difficult. And I desire this the more, because it is an honour due to the dead, and a generous debt due to those that shall live, and succeed us; and would to them prove both a content and satisfaction. For, when the next age shall (as this does) admire the learning and clear reason which that excellent casuist Doctor Sanderson (the late Bishop of Lincoln) hath demonstrated in his Sermons and other writings; who, if they love virtue, would not rejoice to know that this good man was as remarkable for the meekness and innocence of his life, as for his great and useful learning; and indeed, as remarkable for his fortitude, in his long and patient suffering (under them that then called themselves the Godly Party) for that doctrine, which he had preached and printed, in the happy days of the nation's and the church's peace: and who would not be content

tent to have the like account of Doctor Field[a], that great schoolman, and others of noted learning? And though I cannot hope that my example or reason can persuade to this undertaking, yet I please myself that I shall conclude my Preface, with wishing that it were so.

J. W.

[a] *Account of Doctor Field.*] Le Neve in the year 1716, edited "Some Short Memorials concerning the Life of that reverend Divine Doctor Richard Field, the learned Author of Five Books of the Church; written by his son Nathaniel Field, Rector of Stourton in the Countie of Wilts," creditable to the memory of the Father, and the filial piety of the son; but yet not extensive enough to preclude the wish for a more detailed narrative of the life of so eminent and amiable a man.

Mr. IZAAC WALTON,

On his Life of Dr. Donne, &c.

WHEN to a nation's loss, the Virtuous die,
There's justly due, from every hand and eye
That can or write or weep, an elegy.

Which though it be the poorest, cheapest way,
The debt we owe great merits to defray,
Yet, it is almost all that most men pay.

And these are monuments of so short date,
That with their birth they oft receive their fate;
Dying with those whom they would celebrate.

And though to verse great reverence is due,
Yet what most poets write proves so untrue,
It renders truth in verse suspected too.

Something more sacred then, and more entire,
The memories of virtuous men require,
Than what may with their funeral torch expire.

This,

This, History can give; to which alone
The privilege to mate oblivion
Is granted, when deny'd to brass or stone.

Wherein, my Friend, you have a hand so sure,
Your truths so candid are, your style so pure,
That what you write may Envy's search endure.

Your pen, disdaining to be brib'd or prest,
Flows without vanity or interest;
A virtue with which few good pens are blest.

How happy was my father then! to see
Those men he lov'd, by him he lov'd, to be
Rescu'd from frailties and mortality.

Wotton and Donne, to whom his soul was knit;
Those twins of virtue, eloquence, and wit,
He saw in fame's eternal annals writ.

Where one has fortunately found a place
More faithful to him than his [3] marble was;
Which eating age nor fire shall e'er deface.

A monument, that, as it has, shall last,
And prove a monument to that defac'd;
Itself, but with the world, not to be ras'd.

And even in their flow'ry characters,
My father's grave, part of your friendship shares;
For you have honour'd his in strewing theirs.

Thus, by an office though particular,
Virtue's whole commonwealth obliged are;
For in a virtuous act all good men share.

[3] His monument in St. Paul's Church before the late dreadful fire, 1665.

And

And by this act the world is taught to know,
That the true friendship we to merit owe
Is not discharg'd by compliment and show.

But your's is friendship of so pure a kind,
From all mean ends, and interest so refin'd,
It ought to be a pattern to mankind.

For whereas most men's friendſhips here beneath,
Do perish with their friends expiring breath,
Your's proves a living friendship after death.

By which the generous Wotton, reverend Donne,
Soft Herbert, and the church's champion
Hooker, are rescu'd from oblivion.

For though they each of them his time so spent
As rais'd unto himself a monument
With which Ambition might rest well content!

Yet their great works, though they can never die,
And are in truth superlatively high,
Are no just scale to take their virtues by.

Because they show not how th' Almighty's grace,
By various and more admirable ways,
Brought them to be the organs of his praise.

But what their humble modesty would hide,
And was by any other means deny'd,
Is by your love and diligence supply'd.

Wotton, a nobler soul was never bred!
You, by your narrative's most even thread,
Through all his labyrinths of life have led.

Through

Through his degrees of honour, and of arts,
Brought him secure from Envy's venom'd darts,
Which are still levell'd at the greateſt parts.

Through all th' employments of his wit and spirit;
Whose great effects these kingdoms still inherit;
The trials then, now trophies of his merit.

Nay, thro' disgrace, which oft the worthieſt have;
Thro' all state tempests, thro' each wind and wave,
And laid him in an honourable grave.

And your's, and the whole world's beloved Donne,
When he a long and wild career had run
To the meridian of his glorious sun;

And being then an object of much ruth,
Led on by vanities, error, and youth,
Was long ere he did find the way to truth;

By the same clue, after his youthful swing,
To serve at his God's altar here you bring:
Where an once-wanton muse doth anthems sing.

And though by God's most powerful grace alone
His heart was settled in religion;
Yet, 'tis by you we know how it was done;

And know, that having crucify'd vanities,
And fixt his hope, he clos'd up his own eyes;
And then your friend, a saint and preacher dies.

The meek and learned Hooker too, almost
In the Church's ruins overwhelm'd and lost,
Is, by your pen, recover'd from his dust.

And Herbert: he, whose education,
Manners, and parts, by high applauses blown,
Was deeply tainted with ambition;

And fitted for a Court, made that his aim:
At last, without regard to birth or name,
For a poor country cure does all disclaim.

Where, with a soul compos'd of harmonies,
Like a sweet swan, he warbles, as he dies,
His Maker's praise, and his own obsequies.

All this you tell us, with so good success,
That our oblig'd posterity shall profess,
T' have been your friend, was a great happiness.

And now!
When many a worthier would be proud
T' appear before you, if they were allow'd,
I take up room enough to serve a crowd.

Where, to commend what you have choicely writ,
Both my poor testimony, and my wit,
Are equally invalid and unfit:

Yet this, and much more, is most justly due;
Were what I write as elegant as true,
To the best friend I now, or ever knew.

But, my dear friend, 'tis so, that you and I,
By a condition of mortality,
With all this great, and more proud world, must die;

In which estate, I ask no more of Fame,
Nor other monument of honour claim,
Than that of your true friend t' advance my name.

And

And, if your many merits shall have bred
An abler pen, to write your Life when dead,
I think an honester cannot be read.

CHARLES COTTON.

Jan. 17, 1672.

THE

COPY OF A LETTER

WRIT TO MR. IZAAC WALTON,

BY DOCTOR KING,

LORD BISHOP OF CHICHESTER.

HONEST IZAAC,

THOUGH a familiarity of more than forty years continuance, and the constant experience of your love even in the worst of the late sad times, be sufficient to endear our friendship; yet, I must confess my affection much improved, not only by evidences of private respect to many that know and love you, but by your new demonstration of a publick spirit, testified in a diligent, true, and useful collection of so many material passages as you have now afforded me in the life of venerable Mr. Hooker; of which, since desired by such a friend as yourself, I shall not deny to give the testimony of what I know concerning him and his learned books: but, shall first here take a fair occasion to tell you, that you have been happy in choosing

choosing to write the lives of three such persons, as posterity hath just cause to honour; which they will do the more for the true relation of them by your happy pen; of all which I shall give you my unfeigned censure.

I shall begin with my most dear and incomparable friend Dr. Donne, late Dean of St. Paul's Church, who not only trusted me as his executor, but three days before his death delivered into my hands those excellent sermons of his now made publick; professing before Dr. Winniff, Dr. Monford, and, I think, yourself, then present at his bed side, that it was by my restless importunity, that he had prepared them for the press; together with which (as his best legacy) he gave me all his sermon-notes, and his other papers, containing an extract of near fifteen hundred authors. How these were got out of my hands, you, who were the messenger for them, and how lost both to me and yourself, not now reasonable to complain: but, since they did miscarry, I am glad that the general demonstration of his worth was so fairly preserved, and represented to the world by your pen in the history of his life; indeed so well, that beside others, the best critic of our latter time (Mr. John Hales of Eaton College) affirmed to me, "he had not seen a life written with more advantage to the subject, or more reputation to the writer, than that of Dr. Donnes."

After the performance of this task for Dr. Donne, you undertook the like office for our friend Sir Henry Wotton: betwixt which two there was a friendship begun in Oxford, continued in their various travels, and more confirmed in the religious friendship of age: and doubtless this excellent person had writ the life of Dr. Donne, if death had not

not prevented him; by which means his and your pre-collections for that work fell to the happy manage of your pen: a work which you would have declined, if imperious persuasions had not been stronger than your modest resolutions against it. And I am thus far glad, that the first life was so imposed upon you, because it gave an unavoidable cause of writing the second: if not, it is too probable, we had wanted both, which had been a prejudice to all lovers of honour and ingenious learning. And let me not leave my friend Sir Henry without this testimony added to your's; that he was a man of as florid a wit and as elegant a pen, as any former (or ours which in that kind is a most excellent) age hath ever produced.

And now having made this voluntary observation of our two deceased friends, I proceed to satisfy your desire concerning what I know and believe of the ever-memorable Mr. Hooker, who was *schismaticorum malleus*, so great a champion for the Church of England's rights against the factious torrent of separatists, that then ran high against Church discipline: and in his unanswerable books continues to be so against the unquiet disciples of their schism, which now under other names still carry on their design; and, who (as the proper heirs of their irrational zeal) would again rake into the scarce closed wounds of a newly bleeding State and Church.

And first, though I dare not say that I knew Mr. Hooker; yet, as our ecclesiastical history reports to the honour of St. Ignatius that he lived in the time of St. John, and had seen him in his childhood; so, I also joy that in my minority I have often seen Mr. Hooker with my father, who was after Bishop of London; from whom, and others, at that time,

I have heard most of the material passages which you relate in the history of his life; and, from my father received such a character of his learning, humility, and other virtues, that like jewels of invaluable price, they still cast such a lustre as envy or the rust of time shall never darken.

From my father I have also heard all the circumstances of the plot to defame him; and how Sir Edwin Sandys outwitted his accusers and gained their confession; and I could give an account of each particular of that plot, but that I judge it fitter to be forgotten, and rot in the same grave with the malicious authors.

I may not omit to declare, that my fathers knowledge of Mr. Hooker was occasioned by the learned Dr. John Spencer, who after the death of Mr. Hooker was so careful to preserve his invaluable sixth, seventh, and eighth books of Ecclesiastical Polity, and his other writings, that he procured Henry Jackson, then of Corpus Christi College, to transcribe for him all Mr. Hooker's remaining written papers; many of which were imperfect, for his study had been rifled, or worse used, by Mr. Chark, and another, of principles too like his; but, these papers were endeavoured to be completed by his dear friend Dr. Spencer, who bequeathed them as a precious legacy to my father, after whose death they rested in my hand, till Dr. Abbot, then Archbishop of Canterbury, commanded them out of my custody, by authorizing Dr. John Barkeham to require, and bring them to him to his palace in Lambeth; at which time, I have heard, they were put in the Bishops library, and that they remained there till the martyrdom of Archbishop Laud; and were then, by the brethren of that faction given, with all the library, to Hugh Peters, as a reward for his remarkable service

service in those sad times of the Church's confusion; and though they could hardly fall into a fouler hand, yet, there wanted not other endeavours to corrupt and make them speak that language for which the faction then fought, which, indeed was to subject the sovereign power to the people.

But I need not strive to vindicate Mr. Hooker in this particular: his known loyalty to his prince whilst he lived, the sorrow expressed by King James at his death, the value of our late sovereign (of ever-blessed memory) put upon his works, and now, the singular character of his worth by you given in the passages of his life, especially in your appendix to it, do sufficiently clear him from that imputation: and I am glad you mention how much value Thomas Stapleton, Pope Clement the VIII. and other eminent men of the Romish persuasion, have put upon his books; having been told the same in my youth by persons of worth that have travelled Italy.

Lastly, I must again congratulate this undertaking of your's, as now more proper to you than any other person, by reason of your knowlege and alliance to the worthy family of the Cranmers (my old friends also) who have been men of noted wisdom, especially Mr. George Cranmer, whose prudence added to that of Sir Edwin Sandys, proved very useful in the completing of Mr. Hooker's matchless books; one of their letters I herewith send you, to make use of, if you think fit. And let me say further; you merit much from many of Mr. Hooker's best friends then living; namely, from the ever renowned Archbishop Whitgift, of whose incomparable worth, with the character of the times, you have given us a more short and significant account than I have received from any other pen. You have done

done much for the [1] learned Sir Henry Savile, his contemporary and familiar friend; amongst the surviving monuments of whose learning (give me leave to tell you so) two are omitted; his edition of Euclid, but especially his translation of King James's Apology for the Oath of Allegiance into elegant Latin; which flying in that dress as far as Rome, was by the Pope and conclave sent to Salamanca unto Franciscus Suarez (then residing there as President of that College) with a command to answer it. And it is worth noting, that when he had perfected the work, which he calls Defensio Fidei Catholicæ, it was transmitted to Rome for a view of the inquisitors; who according to their custom blotted out what they pleased, and (as Mr. Hooker hath been used since his death) added whatsoever might advance the Pope's supremacy, or carry on their own interest: commonly coupling together Deponere et Occidere, the deposing, and then killing of princes. Which cruel and unchristian language Mr. John Saltkel, the Amanuensis to Suarez, when he wrote that answer (but since a convert, and living long in my father's house) often professed, the good old man (whose piety and charity Mr. Saltkel magnified much) not only disavowed, but detested. Not to trouble you further: your reader (if according to your desire, my approbation of your work carries any weight) will here find many just reasons to thank you for it; and possibly for this circumstance here mentioned (not known to

[1] *You have done much.*] This has been understood to imply that Walton had composed a distinct life of Sir Henry Savile: and accordingly search has been made for the manuscript: but in vain. I apprehend, that the Bishop only refers to the commendations pronounced upon Sir Henry, in the Life of Hooker.

many)

many) may happily apprehend one to thank him, who heartily wishes your happiness, and is unfeignedly,

Sir,

Chichester,
Novem. 17. 1664.

Your ever-faithful and

affectionate old Friend,

Henry Chichester.

TO

TO HIS VERY WORTHY FRIEND

MR. IZAAC WALTON,

UPON HIS WRITING AND PUBLISHING

THE LIFE

OF THE VENERABLE AND JUDICIOUS

MR. RICHARD HOOKER.

I.

HAIL, Sacred Mother, British Church, all hail!
From whose fruitful loins have sprung
Of Pious Sons so great a throng,
That Heav'n t' oppose their force, of strength did fail:
And let the mighty Conquerors, o'er Almighty arms prevail;
How art thou chang'd from what thou wert a late,
When destitute, and quite forlorn,
(And scarce a Child of thousands, with thee left to mourn,)
Thy veil all rent, and all thy garments torn:
With tears thou didst bewail thine own, and children's fate,
Too much (alas!) thou didst resemble then
Sion thy pattern; Sion in ashes laid,
Despis'd, forsaken, and betray'd:
Sion, thou dost resemble once again;
And, rais'd, like her, the glory of the World art made.
Thrones only to thee could that time belong,
But now, thou art the lofty Subject of my Song.

Begin

II.

Begin my verse, and where the doleful Mother sate,
(As it in Vision was to Esdras shown)
Lamenting, with the rest, her dearest Son,
(Blest Charles, who his forefathers has out gone,
And to the royal, join'd the martyrs brighter crown)
Let a new city rise, with beauteous state:
And, beauteous let its temple be, and beautiful the gate;
Lo! how the sacred fabrick up does rise!
The architects so skilful all,
So grave, so humble, and so wise:
The axes, and the hammers noise
Is drowned in silence, or, in numbers musical:
'Tis up; and, at the altar stand
The reverend fathers as of old,
With harps, and incense in their hand:
Nor, let the pious service grow or stiff, or cold:
Th' inferior Priests the while,
To praise continually employ'd, or pray,
Need not the weary hours beguile,
Enough's the single duty of each day.
Thou thyself, Woodford, on thy humbler pipe mayst play;
And, tho' but lately entred there,
So gracious those thou honour'st all appear,
So ready and attent to hear,
An easy part, proportion'd to thy skill, may'st bear.

III.

But where (alas!) where wilt thou fix thy choice?
The subjects are so noble all,
So great their beauties, and thy art so small,
They'll judge, I fear, themselves disparag'd by thy voice,
Yet try, and since thou canst not take,
A name, so despicably low,
But 'twill exceed what thou canst do,
Tho' thy whole mite thou away at once shouldst throw,
Thy poverty a virtue make;
And that thou may'st immortal live,
(Since immortality thou can'st not give)
From one, who has enough to spare, be ambitious to receive:

Of

Of reverend, and judicous Hooker sing;
Hooker, does to th' Church belong,
The Church, and Hooker claim thy song,
And, inexhausted riches to thy verse will bring;
So far, beyond itself, will make it grow,
That life, his gift to thee, thou shalt again on him bestow.

IV.

How great, blest soul, must needs thy Glories be,
Thy joys how perfect, and thy crown how fair,
Who mad'st the Church thy chiefest care;
This Church, which owes so much to thee,
That all her sons are studious of thy memory.
'Twas a bold work the captiv'd to redeem,
And not so only, but th' oppress'd to raise,
(Our aged mother) to that due esteem
She had, and merited in her younger days:
When primitive zeal, and piety,
Were all her laws, and policy,
And decent worship kept the mean,
It's too wide stretch't extreams between,
The rudely scrupulous, and extravagantly vain.
This was the work of Hooker's Pen;
With judgment, candour, and such learning writ,
Matter, and words so exactly fit,
That, were it to be done again,
Expected 'twould be, as its answer hitherto has been.

RITORNATA.

To Chelsea, song, there, tell thy masters friend
The Church is Hooker's debtor: Hooker his;
And strange 'twould be, if he should glory miss,
For whom two such most powerfully contend;
Bid him, chear up, the day's his own,
And, he shall never die
Who after Seventy's past [4] and gone,
Can all th' assaults of age defy:
Is, master still, of so much youthful heat,
A child, so perfect, and so sprightly to beget.

Bensted Hants,
Mar. 10. 16$\frac{6}{7}\frac{8}{8}$.

SAM. WOODFORD.

[4] *Who after seventy's past.*] Walton was born August 9. 1593. See Dr. Zouch's *Life of Isaac Walton*, prefixed to his valuable edition of the Lives of Donne, Wotton &c.

At this time, A. D. 1670, an edition of the Lives of Donne, Wotton, Hooker and Herbert was printed with a dedication to Morley, Bishop of Winchester; with whom it is probable from that dedication, and these lines, " To *Chelsea* Song, &c" that Walton was then resident, in the episcopal palace there.

INTRO-

INTRODUCTION.

I HAVE been persuaded, by a friend[5] whom I reverence, and ought to obey, to write the Life of RICHARD HOOKER, the happy author of five (if not more) of the eight learned books of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity. And, though I have undertaken it, yet, it hath been with some unwillingness; because, I foresee that it must prove to me, and especially at this time of my age, a work of much labour to enquire, consider, research, and determine what is needful to be known concerning *him*: For, I knew him not in his life, and, must therefore, not only look back to his death, now 64 years past; but, almost 50 years beyond that; even to his childhood and youth, and gather thence, such observations and prognosticks, as may at least adorn, if not prove necessary for the compleating of what I have undertaken.

This trouble I foresee; and foresee also, that it is impossible to escape censures; against which, I will not hope my well-meaning and diligence can protect me, (for I consider the age in which I live) and shall therefore but intreat of my reader a suspension of his censures, till I have made known unto him some reasons, which I myself would now gladly believe do make me in some measure fit for this undertaking: and, if these reasons shall not acquit me from all censures, they may at least abate

5 *by a friend.*] Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury. See Epistle to the Reader. p. 166.

of

of their severity, and this is all I can probably hope for.

My reasons follow.

About forty years past (for I am now past the seventy of my age) I began a happy affinity with William Cranmer (now with God) grand nephew unto the great Archbishop of that name, a family of noted prudence and resolution; with him and two of his sisters, I had an entire and free friendship: one of them was the wife of Dr. Spencer, a bosom-friend, and sometime com-pupil with Mr. Hooker in Corpus-Christi College in Oxford, and after President of the same. I name them here, for that I shall have occasion to mention them in this following Discourse; as also George Cranmer their brother, of whose useful abilities my reader may have a more authentic testimony, than my pen can purchase for him, by that of our learned Cambden, and others.

This William Cranmer, and his two forenamed sisters, had some affinity, and a most familiar friendship with Mr. Hooker; and had had some part of their education with him in his house, when he was Parson of Bishops-Borne near Canterbury, in which city their good father then lived. They had (I say) a part of their education with him, as myself since that time a happy cohabitation with them; and having some years before read part of Mr. Hooker's works with great liking and satisfaction, my affection to them made me a diligent inquisitor into many things that concerned him; as namely, of his person, his nature, the management of his time, his wife, his family, and the fortune of him and his. Which inquiry hath given me much advantage in the knowledge of what is now under my

my consideration, and intended for the satisfaction of my reader.

I had also a friendship with the Reverend Dr. Usher, the late learned Archbishop of Armagh, and with Dr. Morton, the late learned and charitable Bishop of Durham; as also with the learned John Hales of Eaton-College; and with them also (who loved the very name of Mr. Hooker) I have had many discourses concerning him: and from them, and many others that have now put off mortality, I might have had more informations, if I could then have admitted a thought of any fitness for what by persuasion I have now undertaken. But, though that full harvest be irrecoverably lost, yet, my memory hath preserved some gleanings, and my diligence made such additions to them, as I hope will prove useful to the compleating of what I intend: in the discovery of which I shall be faithful, and with this assurance put a period to my Introduction.

RICHARD HOOKER.

IT is not to be doubted but that Richard Hooker was born at Heavy-tree, near, or within the Precincts, or in the City of Exeter; a city which may justly boast, that it was the birth-place of him, and Sir Thomas Bodley; as indeed the county may in which it stands, that it hath furnished this nation with Bishop Jewel, Sir Francis Drake, Sir Walter Raleigh, and many others, memorable for their valour and learning. He was born about the year of our Redemption 1553, and of parents that were not so remarkable for their extraction or riches, as for their virtue and industry, and Gods blessing upon both; by which they were enabled to educate their children in some degree of learning, of which our Richard Hooker may appear to be one fair testimony; and that Nature is not so partial, as always to give the great blessings of wisdom and learning, and with them the greater blessings of virtue and government, to those only that are of a more high and honourable birth.

His complexion (if we may guess by him at the age of forty) was sanguine, with a mixture of choler; and yet, his motion was slow even in his youth, and so was his speech, never expressing an earnestness

ness in either of them, but an humble gravity suitable to the aged. And it is observed (so far as inquiry is able to look back at this distance of time) that at his being a school-boy he was an early questionist, quietly inquisitive, Why this was, and that was not, to be remembered? Why this was granted, and that denied? This being mixt with a remarkable modesty, and a sweet serene quietness of nature, and with them a quick apprehension of many perplext parts of learning imposed upon him as a scholer, made his master and others believe him to have an inward blessed divine light, and therefore to consider him to a little wonder. For in that, children were less pregnant, less confident, and more malleable, than in this wiser, but not better age.

This meekness and conjuncture of knowledge, with modesty in his conversation, being observed by his schoolmaster, caused him to persuade his parents (who intended him for an apprentice) to continue him at school, till he could find out some means, by persuading his rich uncle, or some other charitable person, to ease them of a part of their care and charge; assuring them, that their son was so enriched with the blessings of nature and grace, that God seemed to single him out as a special instrument of his glory. And the good man told them also, that he would double his diligence in instructing him, and would neither expect nor receive any other reward, than the content of so hopeful and happy an employment.

This was not unwelcome news, and especially to his mother, to whom he was a dutiful and dear child; and all parties were so pleased with this proposal, that it was resolved, so it should be. And in the mean time, his parents and master laid a foundation for his future happiness, by instilling into his

his soul the seeds of piety, those conscientious principles of loving and fearing God; of an early belief that he knows the very secrets of our souls; that he punisheth our vices, and rewards our innocence; that we should be free from hypocrisy, and appear to man what we are to God, because first or last the crafty man is catched in his own snare. These seeds of piety were so seasonably planted, and so continually watered with the daily dew of Gods blessed spirit, that his infant virtues grew into such holy habits, as did make him grow daily into more and more favour both with God and man; which, with the great learning that he did after attain to, hath made Richard Hooker honoured in this, and will continue him to be so to succeeding generations.

This good schoolmaster, whose name I am not able to recover (and am sorry, for that I would have given him a better memorial in this humble monument, dedicated to the memory of his scholar) was very solicitous with John Hooker, then Chamberlain of Exeter, and uncle to our Richard, to take his nephew into his care, and to maintain him for one year in the University, and in the mean time to use his endeavours to procure an admission for him into some College, though it were but in a mean degree; still urging and assuring him, that his charge would not continue long, for the lads learning and manners, were both so remarkable, that they must of necessity be taken notice of; and, that doubtless God would provide him some second patron, that would free him and his parents from their future care and charge.

These reasons, with the affectionate rhetoric of his good master, and Gods blessing upon both, procured from his uncle a faithful promise, that he would take him into his care and charge before the expiration of the year following, which was performed

formed by him, and with the assistance of the learned Mr. John Jewel; of whom this may be noted that he left, or was about the first of Queen Mary's reign, expelled out of Corpus-Christi College in Oxford (of which he was a Fellow) for adhering to the truth of those principles of religion, to which he had assented and given testimony in the days of her brother and predecessor Edward the Sixth; and this John Jewel having within a short time after a just cause to fear a more heavy punishment than expulsion, was forced, by forsaking this, to seek safety in another nation; and, with that safety, the enjoyment of that doctrine and worship, for which he suffered.

But the cloud of that persecution and fear ending with the life of Queen Mary, the affairs of the church and state did then look more clear and comfortable; so that he, and with him many others of the same judgment, made a happy return into England about the first of Queen Elizabeth; in which year, this John Jewel was sent a commissioner or visitor of the churches of the western parts of this kingdom, and especially of those in Devonshire, in which county he was born: and then and there he contracted a friendship with John Hooker, the uncle of our Richard.

About the second or third year of her reign, this John Jewel was made Bishop of Salisbury; and there being always observed in him a willingness to do good, and to oblige his friends, and now a power added to this willingness; this John Hooker gave him a visit in Salisbury, "and besought him for charity's sake to look favourably upon a poor nephew of his, whom nature had fitted for a scholar, but the estate of his parents was so narrow, that they were unable to give him the advantage of learning; and that the Bishop would therefore become his patron

patron, and prevent him from being a tradesman; for he was a boy of remarkable hopes." And though the Bishop knew, men do not usually look with an indifferent eye upon their own children and relations, yet he assented so far to John Hooker, that he appointed the boy and his schoolmaster should attend him about Easter next following at that place; which was done accordingly; and then, after some questions and observations of the boy's learning and gravity, and behaviour, the Bishop gave his schoolmaster a reward, and took order for an annual pension for the boy's parents: promising also, to take him into his care for a future preferment, which he performed; for, about the fifteenth year of his age, which was anno 1567, he was by the Bishop appointed to remove to Oxford, and there to attend Dr. Cole, then President of Corpus-Christi College: which he did; and Dr. Cole had (according to a promise made to the Bishop) provided for him both a tutor (which was said to be the learned Dr. John Reynolds) and a clerk's place in that College: which place, though it were not a full maintenance, yet with the contribution of his uncle, and the continued pension of his patron the good Bishop, gave him a comfortable subsistence. And in this condition he continued unto the eighteenth year of his age, still increasing in learning and prudence, and so much in humility and piety, that he seemed to be filled with the Holy Ghost, and even like St. John Baptist, to be sanctified from his mothers womb; who did often bless the day in which she bare him.

About this time of his age he fell into a dangerous sickness, which lasted two months; all which time his mother, having notice of it, did in her hourly prayers as earnestly beg his life of God, as Monica the mother of St. Augustine did that he might be-

come a true Christian; and, their prayers were both so heard as to be granted. Which Mr. Hooker would often mention with much joy, "and as often pray that he might never live to occasion any sorrow to so good a mother; of whom, he would often say, he loved her so dearly, that he would endeavour to be good even as much for hers, as for his own sake."

As soon as he was perfectly recovered from this sickness, he took a journey from Oxford to Exeter, to satisfy and see his good mother, being accompanied with a countryman and companion of his own college, and both on foot; which was then either more in fashion, or want of money, or their humility made it so: But on foot they went, and took Salisbury in their way, purposely to see the good Bishop, who made Mr. Hooker and his companion dine with him at his own table; which Mr. Hooker boasted of with much joy and gratitude when he saw his mother and friends: And at the Bishop's parting with him, the Bishop gave him good counsel, and his benediction, but forgot to give him money; which when the Bishop had considered, he sent a servant in all haste to call Richard back to him, and at Richard's return, the Bishop said to him, "Richard, I sent for you back to lend you a horse, which hath carried me many a mile, and I thank God with much ease," and presently delivered into his hand a walking-staff, with which he professed he had travelled through many parts of Germany; and he said, "Richard, I do not give, but lend you my horse; be sure you be honest, and bring my horse back to me at your return this way to Oxford. And I do now give you ten groats to bear your charges to Exeter; and here is ten groats more, which I charge you to deliver to your mother, and tell her, I send her a Bishops benediction with it, and

and beg the continuance of her prayers for me. And if you bring my horse back to me, I will give you ten groats more to carry you on foot to the College; and so God bless you, good Richard."

And this, you may believe, was performed by both parties. But, alas! the next news that followed Mr. Hooker to Oxford was, that his learned and charitable patron had changed this for a better life. Which happy change may be believed, for that as he lived, so he died, in devout meditation and prayer, and in both so zealously, that it became a religious question, whether his last ejaculations, or his soul, did first enter into Heaven?

And now Mr. Hooker became a man of sorrow and fear; of sorrow, for the loss of so dear and comfortable a patron; and of fear, for his future subsistence. But Dr. Cole raised his spirits from this dejection, by bidding him go cheerfully to his studies, and assuring him he should neither want food nor raiment (which was the utmost of his hopes) for he would become his patron.

And so he was for about nine months, and not longer; for about that time, this following accident did befall Mr. Hooker.

Edwin Sandys (sometime Bishop of London, and after Archbishop of York) had also been in the days of Queen Mary forced, by forsaking this, to seek safety in another nation; where for some years Bishop Jewell and he were companions at bed and board in Germany: and, where in this their exile they did often eat the bread of sorrow; and by that means they there began such a friendship, as lasted till the death of Bishop Jewell, which was in September 1571. A little before which time, the two Bishops meeting, Jewel had an occasion to begin a story of his Richard Hooker, and in it gave such a character of his learning and manners, that though Bishop

Sandys was educated at Cambridge, where he had obliged and had many friends; yet his resolution was, that his son Edwin should be sent to Corpus-Christi college in Oxford, and by all means be pupil to Mr. Hooker, though his son Edwin was not much younger then Mr. Hooker then was: for, the Bishop said, "I will have a tutor for my son that shall teach him learning by instruction, and vertue by example; and my greatest care shall be of the last; and (God willing) this Richard Hooker shall be the man into whose hands I will commit my Edwin." And the Bishop did so about twelve months, or not much longer after this resolution.

And doubtless as to these two a better choice could not be made: for Mr. Hooker was now in the nineteenth year of his age, had spent five in the University, and had by a constant unwearied diligence attained unto a perfection in all the learned languages; by the help of which, an excellent tutor, and his unintermitted studies, he had made the subtilty of all the arts easy and familiar to him, and useful for the discovery of such learning as lay hid from common searchers; so that by these added to his great reason, and his restless industry added to both, he did not only know more of causes and effects, but what he knew, he knew better than other men. And with this knowledge he had a most blessed and clear method of demonstrating what he knew, to the great advantage of all his pupils (which in time were many) but especially to his two first, his dear Edwin Sandys, and his as dear George Cranmer; of which there will be a fair testimony in the ensuing relation.

This for Mr. Hookers learning. And for his behaviour, amongst other testimonies this still remains of him, that in four years, he was but twice absent from the chapel prayers; and that his behaviour

haviour there was such as shewed an awful reverence of that God which he then worshipped and prayed to; giving all outward testimonies that his affections were set on heavenly things. This was his behaviour towards God: and for that to man, it is observable that he was never known to be angry, or passionate, or extreme in any of his desires: never heard to repine or dispute with Providence, but by a quiet gentle submission and resignation of his will to the wisdom of his creator, bore the burthen of the day with patience; never heard to utter an uncomely word: and by this, and a grave behaviour, which is a divine charm, he begot an early reverence unto his person, even from those that at other times, and in other companies, took a liberty to cast off that strictness of behaviour and discourse that is required in a collegiate life. And when he took any liberty to be pleasant, his wit was never blemished with scoffing, or the utterance of any conceit that bordered upon, or might beget a thought of looseness in his hearers. Thus mild, thus innocent and exemplary was his behaviour in his College; and, thus this good man continued till his death, still increasing in learning, in patience, and piety.

In this nineteenth year of his age, he was December 24. 1573. admitted to be one of the twenty scholars of the foundation, being elected and so admitted as born in Devon or Hampshire, out of which countries, a certain number are to be elected in vacancies by the founders' statutes. And now, as he was much encouraged, so now he was perfectly incorporated into this beloved college, which was then noted for an eminent library, strict students, and remarkable scholars. And indeed it may glory, that it had Cardinal Poole, but more, that it had Bishop Jewell, Doctor John Reynolds, and Doctor Thomas

Thomas Jackson of that foundation: the first famous for his learned Apology of the Church of England, and his defence of it against Harding. The second, for the learned and wise menage of a public dispute with John Hart (of the Romish persuasion) about the head and faith of the church, and after printed by consent[7] of both parties. And, the third, for his most excellent Exposition of the Creed, and other treatises: all, such as have given greatest

[7] *Printed by consent.*] It was intitled, "*The summe of the conference betweene John Rainoldes and John Hart; touching the Head and the Faith of the Church: penned by John Rainoldes, according to the notes set downe in writing by them both; perused by John Hart, and, after things supplied, and altered, as he thought good, allowed for the faithful report of that which past in conference betweene them.* 1598." 4to. In the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, a copy of this conference is still extant in manuscript, No. 402, signed JOHN HART.

Of this Dr. John Reynolds, and his brother William, it is told, that in their youth, being of different religions, John a Papist, and William a Protestant, and debating the matter together with a warmth compounded, as we may easily suppose, of the controversial zeal of their times, and a brotherly solicitude for each other's spiritual welfare, they interchanged opinions; John became a zealous Protestant, William as zealous a Papist; and they were both, on their several sides, distinguished for their controversial performances. "All this while" (says Fuller) "this our John Reinolds was well affected to the Romish religion, and his brother William Reinolds earnest for Reformation; which difference in judgment proved a fireball of contention between them, and engaged them in a strange duel, much like to that of Eteocles and Polynices, wherein both conquered one the other, yet neither enjoyed the victory, nor kept his prisoner; for John Reinolds, who before was a Papist, by these bickerings became a zealous Protestant, and William Reinolds, who before had been a zealous Protestant, became a Jesuited Papist, and wrote most pestilent books against the Church and State. Of these, *bella plusquam civilia*, among brethren, W. A. a learned Divine, thus elegantly discourseth in English and Latin verses:

Bella inter geminos plusquam civilia fratres," &c.

Fuller's *Abel Redivivus*, p. 478. edit. 1651.

satisfaction

satisfaction to men of the greatest learning: Nor was Doctor Jackson more note-worthy for his learning, than for his strict and pious life, testified by his abundant love and meekness and charity to all men.

And in the year 1576. Febr. 23. Mr. Hooker's grace was given him for inceptor of arts, Dr. Herbert Westphaling, a man of note for learning, being then Vice-chancellor. And the act following he was compleated Master, which was Anno 1577, his patron Doctor Cole being Vice-chancellor that year, and his dear friend Henry Savill of Merton College being then one of the Proctors. It was that Henry Savill, that was after Sir Henry Savill, Warden of Merton College, and Provost of Eaton: He which founded in Oxford two famous lectures, and endowed them with liberal maintenance.

It was that Sir Henry Savill, that translated and enlightened the history of Cornelius Tacitus, with a most excellent comment; and enriched the world by his laborious and chargeable collecting the scattered pieces of S. Chrysostome, and the publication of them in one entire body in Greek; in which language he was a most judicious critic. It was this Sir Henry Savill, that had the happiness to be a contemporary, and familiar friend to Mr. Hooker; and let posterity know it.

And in this year of 1577, he was so happy as to be admitted Fellow of the College; happy also in being the contemporary and friend of that Dr. John Reynolds, of whom I have lately spoken, and of Dr. Spencer; both which were after, and successively, made presidents of Corpus-Christi College; men of great learning and merit, and famous in their generations.

Nor was Mr. Hooker more happy in his contemporaries of his time and College, than in the pupillage

pillage and friendship of his Edwin Sandys and George Cranmer; of whom my reader may note, that this Edwin Sandys was after Sir Edwin Sandys, and as famous for his Speculum Europæ, as his brother George for making posterity beholden to his pen, by a learned relation and comment on his dangerous and remarkable travels, and, for his harmonious translation of the psalms of David, the book of Job, and other poetical parts of Holy Writ, into most high and elegant verse. And for Cranmer, his other pupil, I shall refer my reader to the printed testimonies of our learned Mr. Cambden, of Fines Morrison, and others.

'This Cranmer' (says Mr. Cambden in his Annals of Queen Elizabeth) 'whose Christian name was George, was a gentleman of singular hopes, the eldest son of Thomas Cranmer, son of Edmund Cranmer, the Archbishop's brother: he spent much of his youth in Corpus-Christi College in Oxford, where he continued Master of Arts for some time before he removed, and then betook himself to travel, accompanying that worthy gentleman Sir Edwin Sandys into France, Germany, and Italy, for the space of three years; and after their happy return he betook himself to an employment under Secretary Davison, a Privy Counsellor of note, who for an unhappy undertaking, became clouded and pitied, after whose fall, he went in place of Secretary with Sir Henry Killegrew in his embassage into France: and after his death he was sought after by the most noble Lord Mount-Joy, with whom he went into Ireland, where he remained until in a battle against the rebels, near Carlingford, an unfortunate wound put an end both to his life, and the great hopes that were conceived of him: he being then but in the 36th year of his age.'

Betwixt

Betwixt Mr. Hooker and these his two pupils, there was a sacred friendship; a friendship made up of religious principles, which increased daily by a similitude of inclinations to the same recreations and studies; a friendship elemented in youth, and in an University, free from self-ends, which the friendships of age usually are not: and in this sweet, this blessed, this spiritual amity they went on for many years; and as the Holy Prophet saith, so *they took sweet counsel together, and walked in the house of God as friends.* By which means they improved this friendship to such a degree of holy amity as bordered upon Heaven; a friendship so sacred, that when it ended in this world, it began in that next, where it shall have no end.

And, though this world cannot give any degree of pleasure equal to such a friendship; yet, obedience to parents, and a desire to know the affairs, manners, laws, and learning of other nations, that they might thereby become the more serviceable unto their own, made them put off their gowns, and leave the College and Mr. Hooker to his studies; in which he was daily more assiduous; still enriching his quiet and capacious soul with the precious learning of the philosophers, casuists, and school-men; and with them, the foundation and reason of all laws, both sacred and civil; and indeed, with such other learning as lay most remote from the track of common studies. And as he was diligent in these, so he seemed restless in searching the scope and intention of God's spirit revealed to mankind in the Sacred Scripture: for the understanding of which, he seemed to be assisted by the same spirit with which they were written; *He that regardeth truth in the inward parts, making him to understand wisdom secretly.* And the good man would often say, that God abhors confusion as contrary

trary to his nature; and as often say, that the Scripture was not writ to beget disputations, and pride, and opposition to Government; but, charity and humility, moderation, obedience to authority, and peace to mankind; of which virtues, he would, as often say, no man did ever repent himself on his death-bed. And, that this was really his judgment, did appear in his future writings, and in all the actions of his life. Nor was this excellent man a stranger to the more light and airy parts of learning, as musick and poetry; all which he had digested, and made useful: and of all which, the reader will have a fair testimony, in what will follow.

In the year 1579, the Chancellor of the University was given to understand, that the public Hebrew lecture was not read according to the statutes; nor could be, by reason of a distemper that had then seized the brain of Mr. Kingsmill, who was to read it; so that, it lay long unread, to the great detriment of those that were studious of that language: therefore, the Chancellor writ to his Vice-chancellor, and the University, that he had heard such commendations of the excellent knowledge of Mr. Richard Hooker in that tongue, that he desired he might be procured to read it: and he did, and continued to do so, till he left Oxford.

Within three months after his undertaking this Lecture (namely in October 1579.) he was with Dr. Reynolds, and others expelled his College; and this letter transcribed from Dr. Reynolds's own hand, may give some account of it.

To Sir Francis Knolles.

"I am sorry, Right Honourable, that I am enforced to make unto you such a suit, which I cannot

cannot move, but I must complain of the unrighteous dealing of one of our College; who hath taken upon him against all law and reason, to expel out of our house, both me and Mr. Hooker, and three other of our fellows, for doing that which by Oath we were bound to do. Our matter must be heard before the Bishop of Winchester, with whom I do not doubt, but we shall find equity. Howbeit, forasmuch as some of our adversaries have said, that the Bishop is already forestalled, and will not give such audience as we look for; therefore I am humbly to beseech your honour, that you will desire the Bishop, by your letters, to let us have justice; though it be with rigour, so it be justice: our cause is so good, that I am sure we shall prevail by it. Thus much I am bold to request of your honour for Corpus-Christi College sake, or rather for Christ's sake; whom I beseech to bless you with daily encrease of his manifold gifts, and the blessed graces of his holy spirit.

Your HONOUR's

London, Octob. 9. 1579. in Christ to command,

JOHN REYNOLDS."

This expulsion was by Dr. John Barfoote, then Vice-president of the College, and Chaplain to Ambrose Earl of Warwick. I cannot learn the pretended cause; but, that they were restored the same Month is most certain.

I return to Mr. Hooker in his College, where he continued his studies with all quietness, for the space of three years; about which time, he entered into sacred orders, being then made deacon and priest; and,

and, not long after, was appointed to preach at St. Paul's Cross [s].

In order to which sermon, to London he came, and immediately to the Shunamites house; which is a house so called, for that, besides the stipend paid the preacher, there is provision made also for his lodging and diet for two days before, and one day after his sermon. This house was then kept by John Churchman, sometime a draper of a good note in Watling-street, upon whom poverty had at last come like an armed man, and brought him into a necessitous condition; which, though it be a punishment, is not always an argument of God's disfavour, for he was a virtuous man; I shall not yet give the like testimony of his wife, but leave the reader to judge by what follows. But to this house Mr. Hooker came so wet, so weary, and weather-beaten, that he was never known to express more passion, than against a friend that dissuaded him from footing it to London, and for finding him no easier an horse; supposing the horse trotted, when he did not: and at this time also, such a faintness and fear possest him, that he would not be perswaded two days rest and quietness, or any other means could be used to make him able to preach his Sunday's sermon; but a warm bed, and rest, and drink, proper for a cold, given him by Mrs. Churchman, and

[s] *At St. Paul's Cross.*] "In the elder ages, in some places, before they had a church built, our Christian ancestors, instead of a church, were content to perform divine service under a cross, in some open and convenient place: and from hence we may take liberty to reflect upon the original of the service at St. Paul's Cross in London; and that the rather, in regard the industrious Surveyor of London's Antiquities (Stowe's survey fol. 357.) professeth that the original or antiquity of Paul's Cross was to him unknown." Staveley's *History of Churches in England.* p. 102.

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her diligent attendance added unto it, enabled him to perform the office of the day, which was in or about the Year 1581.

And in this first publick appearance to the world, he was not so happy as to be free from exceptions against a point of doctrine delivered in his sermon, which was, that in God there were two wills, an antecedent, and a consequent will; his first will, that all mankind should be saved, but his second will was, that those only should be saved, that did live answerable to that degree of grace which he had offered, or afforded them. This seemed to cross a late opinion of Mr. Calvin's, and then taken for granted by many that had not a capacity to examine it, as it had been by him before, and hath been since by Master Henry Mason, Dr. Jackson, Dr. Hammond, and others of great learning, who believed that a contrary opinion intrenches upon the honour and justice of our merciful God. How he justified this, I will not undertake to declare, but it was not excepted against (as Mr. Hooker declares [9] in his raitonal Answer to Mr. Travers) by John Elmer, then Bishop of London; at this time one of his auditors, and at last one of his advocates too, when Mr. Hooker was accused for it.

But the justifying of this doctrine did not prove of so bad consequences, as the kindness of Mrs. Church-

[9] *As Mr. Hooker declares.*] Answer to Mr. Travers's supplication, sect. 8. The entire answer is one of the finest specimens of true eloquence that ever flowed from a human heart.

Respecting the point on which he incurred the censure of Mr. Travers, Hooker did not hesitate to maintain the same distinction, in his Ecclesiastical Polity, the noble fruit of his riper years; and where, as being the only part of his writings which was published by himself, we may be best assured, that we possess his genuine, approved, and maturest sentiments. See *Ecclesiast. Polity.* Book 5. sect. 49.

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man's curing him of his late distemper and cold; for that was so gratefully apprehended by Mr. Hooker, that he thought himself bound in conscience to believe all that she said; so that the good man came to be perswaded by her, "that he was a man of a tender constitution, and that it was best for him to have a wife, that might prove a nurse to him; such an one as might both prolong his life, and make it more comfortable; and such a one she could and would provide for him, if he thought fit to marry." And he not considering, that *the children of this world are wiser in their generation, than the children of light;* but, like a true Nathanael, fearing no guile, because he meant none, did give her such a power as Eleazar was trusted with, (you may read it in the book of Genesis) when he was sent to choose a wife for Isaac; for, even so he trusted her to choose for him, promising upon a fair summons to return to London, and accept of her choice; and, he did so in that or about the year following. Now the wife provided for him, was her daughter Joan, who brought him neither beauty nor portion; and for her conditions, they were too like that wife's which is by Solomon compared to a *dripping house;* so that the good man had no reason to *rejoice in the wife of his Youth*; but too just cause to say with the holy prophet, *wo is me that I am constrained to have my habitation in the tents of Kedar!*

This choice of Mr. Hooker's (if it were his choice) may be wondred at; but, let us consider that the prophet Ezekiel says, there is a wheel within a wheel, a secret sacred wheel of providence (most visible in marriages) guided by his hand, that allows not the race to the swift, nor bread to the wise, nor good wives to good men: and he that can bring good out of evil, (for mortals are blind to this reason) only knows why this blessing was denied to patient Job, to

to meek Moses, and to our as meek and patient Mr. Hooker. But so it was; and, let the reader cease to wonder, for, affliction is a divine diet, which though it be not pleasing to mankind, yet Almighty God hath often, very often imposed it as good, though bitter physic, to those children whose souls are dearest to him.

And by this marriage the good man was drawn from the tranquillity of his College, from that garden of piety, of pleasure, of peace, and a sweet conversation, into the thorny wilderness of a busy world; into those corroding cares that attend a married priest, and a country parsonage: which was Drayton Beauchamp in Buckinghamshire, not far from Aylesbury, and in the diocese of Lincoln: to which he was presented by John Cheny, Esquire, then patron of it, the 9th of December 1584; where he behaved himself so as to give no occasion of evil, but (as St. Paul adviseth a minister of God) *in much patience, in afflictions, in anguishes, in necessities; in poverty, and no doubt in long-suffering:* yet troubling no man with his discontents and wants.

And in this condition he continued about a year, in which time his two pupils, Edwin Sandys and George Cranmer, took a journey to see their tutor, where they found him with a book in his hand (it was the Odes of Horace) he being then like humble and innocent Abel, tending his small allotment of sheep in a common field, which he told his pupils he was forced to do then, for that his servant was gone home to dine, and assist his wife to do some necessary houshold business. But when his servant returned and released him, then his two pupils attended him unto his house, where their best entertainment was his quiet company, which was presently denied them; for Richard was called to rock the

the cradle: and the rest of their welcome was so like this, that they staid but till the next morning, which was time enough to discover and pity their tutor's condition; and they having in that time rejoiced in the remembrance, and then paraphrased on many of the innocent recreations of their younger days, and other like diversions, and thereby given him as much present comfort as they were able, they were forced to leave him to the company of his wife Joan, and seek themselves a quieter lodging for next night. But at their parting from him, Mr. Cranmer said, "Good tutor, I am sorry your lot is fallen in no better ground as to your parsonage; and, more sorry that your wife proves not a more comfortable companion after you have wearied yourself in your restless studies." To whom the good man replied, "My dear George, if saints have usually a double share in the miseries of this life, I that am none, ought not to repine at what my wise creator hath appointed for me, but labour, (as indeed I do daily) to submit mine to his will, and possess my soul in patience, and peace."

At their return to London, Edwin Sandys acquaints his father, who was then Archbishop of York, with his tutor's sad condition, and solicits for his removal to some benefice that he might give him a more quiet and a more comfortable subsistence; which his father did most willingly grant him, when it should next fall into his power. And not long after this time, which was in the year 1585, Mr. Alvie (master of the temple) died, who was a man of a strict life, of great learning, and of so venerable behaviour, as to gain so high a degree of love and reverence from all men; that he was generally known by the name of *Father Alvie*. And at the temple-reading, next after the death of this Father Alvie, he the said Archbishop of York,

York, being then at dinner with the Judges, the reader, and benchers of that society, met with a general condolement for the death of Father Alvie, and with a high commendation of his saint-like life, and of his great merit both toward God and man: and as they bewailed his death, so they wished for a like pattern of virtue and learning to succeed him. And here came in a fair occasion for the Bishop to commend Mr. Hooker to Father Alvie's place, which he did with so effectual an earnestness, and that seconded with so many other testimonies of his worth, that Mr. Hooker was sent for from Drayton Beauchamp to London, and there the mastership of the temple proposed unto him by the Bishop, as a greater freedom from his country cares, the advantage of a better society, and a more liberal pension than his country parsonage did afford him. But these reasons were not powerful enough to incline him to a willing acceptance of it: his wish was rather to gain a better country living, where he might see God's blessings spring out of the earth, and be free from noise (so he exprest the desire of his heart) and eat that bread which he might more properly call his own in privacy and quietness. But, notwithstanding this averseness, he was at last perswaded to accept of the Bishops proposal, and was by patent for life [1], made master of the temple the 17th of March 1585, he being then in the 34th year of his age.

[1] *Patent for life.*] This you may find in the temple records.

William Ermstead was Master of the Temple at the Dissolution of the prioiy; and died 2 Eliz.

Richard Alvey Bat. Divinity, Pat. 13. Febr. 2. Eliz. Magister sive Custos Domûs et Ecclesiæ novi Templi, died 27. Eliz.

Richard Hooker, succeeded that year by patent in terminis, as Alvey had it, and he left it, 33 Eliz.

That year Dr. Balgey succeeded Richard Hooker.

[But before [*] any mention was made of Mr. Hooker for this place, two other divines were nominated to succeed Alvey; whereof Mr. Walter Travers, a disciplinarian in his judgment and practice, and preacher here in the afternoons, was chief, and recommended by Alvey himself on his death bed, to be master after him: and no marvel, for Alvey's and Travers's principles did somewhat correspond. And many gentlemen of the house desired him; which desire, the Lord Treasurer Burghley was privy to, and by their request, and his own inclination towards him, being a good preacher, he moved the Queen to allow of him; for the disposal of the place was in her. But Archbishop Whitgift knew the man, and his hot temper and principles, from the time he was fellow in Trinity College, and had observed his steps ever after: he knew how turbulently he had carried himself at the College, how he had disowned the English established church and episcopacy; and went to Geneva, and afterwards to Antwerp, to be ordained Minister, as he was by Villers and Cartwright and others, the heads of a congregation there; and so came back again more confirmed for the Discipline. And knowing how much the doctrine and converse of the master to be placed here, would influence the gentlemen, and their influence and authority prevail in all parts of the realm, where their habitations and estates were, that careful prelate made it his endeavour to stop Travers coming in; and had a learned man in his view, of principles more conformable and agreeable to the

[*] *But before.*] This and the other parts of the Life of Hooker included within brackets, are additions compiled by John Strype, as appears from his Life of Whitgift, p. 175, and inserted by him in the Life prefixed to the London edition of the works of Hooker. A. D. 1723.

church,

church, namely one Doctor Bond, the Queens Chaplain, and one well known to her. She well understanding the importance of this place, and knowing by the Archbishop what Travers was, by a letter he timely writ to her Majesty upon the vacancy, gave particular order to the Treasurer to discourse with the Archbishop about it.

The Lord Treasurer, hereupon, in a letter, consulted with the said Archbishop, and mentioned Travers to him as one desired by many of the house. But the Archbishop in his answer, plainly signified to his Lordship that he judged him altogether unfit, for the reasons mentioned before; and that he had recommended to the Queen Dr. Bond as a very fit person. But however she declined him, fearing his bodily strengh to perform the duty of the place, as she did Travers for other causes. And, by laying both aside, she avoided giving disgust to either of these great men. This Dr. Bond seems to be that Dr. Nicholas Bond that afterwards was president of Magdalen College, Oxon, and that was much abused by Martin Mar-Prelate.

These particulars I have collected from a letter of the Archbishop to the Queen, and other letters that passed between the Archbishop and the Lord Treasurer about this affair, while the Mastership was vacant. The passages whereof taken *verbatim* out of their said letters, may deserve here to be specified for the satisfaction of the readers.

And first in the month of August, upon the death of the former Master, the Archbishop wrote this letter unto the Queen.

" It may please your Majesty, to be advertised that the Mastership of the Temple is vacant by the death of Mr. Alvey. The living is not great, yet doth it require a learned discreet and wise man,

in respect of the company there: who being well directed and taught may do much good elsewhere in the common wealth, as otherwise also they may do much harm. And because I hear there is a suit made unto your Highness for one Mr. Travers, I thought it my duty to signify unto your Majesty, that the said Travers hath been, and is one of the chief and principal authors of dissention in this Church, a contemner of the Book of Prayers, and of other orders by authority established; an earnest seeker of innovation, and either in no degree of the Ministry at all, or else ordered beyond the seas; not according to the form in this Church of England used. Whose placing in that room, especially by your Majesty, would greatly animate the rest of that faction, and do very much harm in sundry respects.

"Your Majesty hath a Chaplain of your own, Dr. Bond, a man in my opinion very fit for that office, and willing also to take pains therein, if it shall please your Highness to bestow it upon him. Which I refer to your most gracious disposition: beseeching Almighty God long to bless, prosper, and preserve your Majesty to his glory, and all our comforts.

Your Majesty's most faithful

From Croydon, the of *August*, 1584. Servant and Chaplain

Jo. Cantuar."

Next, in a letter of the Archbishop to the Lord Treasurer, dated from Lambeth, Sept. 14, 1584, he hath these words:

"I be-

" I beseech your Lordship to help such an one to the Mastership of the Temple as is known to be conformable to the laws and orders established, and a defender not a depraver of the present state, and government. He that now readeth there is nothing less, as I of mine own knowledge and experience can testify. Dr. Bond is desirous of it, and I know not a fitter man."

The Lord Treasurer in a letter to the Archbishop, dated from Oatlands (where the Queen now was) Sept. 17, 1584, thus wrote.

" The Queen hath asked me what I thought of Travers to be Master of the Temple. Whereunto I answered, that at the request of Dr. Alvey in his sickness, and a number of honest gentlemen of the Temple, I had yielded my allowance of him to the place, so as he would shew himself conformable to the orders of the church. Whereunto I was informed that he would so be. But her Majesty told me that your Grace did not so allow of him. Which I said might be for some things supposed to be written by him in a book intitled *De Disciplina Ecclesiastica.* Whereupon her Majesty commanded me to write to your Grace to know your opinion, which I pray your Grace to signify unto her, as God shall move you. Surely it were great pity that any impediment should be occasion to the contrary; for he is well learned, very honest, and well allowed, and loved of the generality of that house. Mr. Bond told me, that your Grace liked well of him; and so do I also, as of one well learned and honest; but, as I told him, if he came not to the place with some applause of the company, he shall be weary thereof. And yet I commended him unto her Majesty, if Travers should not have it. But her Majesty thinks him not fit for

for that place, because of his infirmities. Thus wishing your Grace assistance of Gods Spirit to govern your charge unblameably,

Your Grace's to command,

From the Court at Oatlands the 7th Sep. 1584 Will: Burghley."

Part of the Archbishop's letter in answer to this, was to this tenor:

" Mr. Travers, whom your Lordship names in your letter, is to no man better known, I think, than to myself. I did elect him fellow of Trinity College, being before rejected of Dr. Beaumont for his intolerable stomach! whereof I had also afterwards such experience, that I was forced by due punishment so to weary him, till he was fain to travel, and depart from the College to Geneva, otherwise he should have been expelled for want of conformity to the orders of the house, and for his pertinacy. Neither was there ever any under our government, in whom I found less submission and humility than in him. Nevertheless if time and years have now altered that disposition (which I cannot believe, seeing yet no token thereof, but rather the contrary) I will be as ready to do him good as any friend he hath. Otherwise I cannot in duty but do my endeavour to keep him from that place, where he may do so much harm, and do little or no good at all. For howsoever some commend him to your Lordship, and others, yet I think that the greater and better number of both the Temples have not so good an opinion of him. Sure I am that divers grave, and of the best affected of them, have shewed their misliking of him to me; not only

only out of respect of his disorderliness, in the manner of the communion, and contempt of the prayers, but also of his negligence in reading. Whose lectures by their report, are so barren of matter, that his hearers take no commodity thereby.

The book *De Disciplina*[3] *Ecclesisastica*, by common opinion, hath been reputed of his penning, since the first publishing of it. And by divers arguments I am moved to make no doubt thereof. The drift of which book is wholly against the state and government. Wherein also among other things he condemneth the paying and taking of first fruits, [4] tenths &c. And therefore unless he will testify his conformity by subscription, as all others do, which now enter into Ecclesiastical livings; and make proof unto me that he is a minister ordered according to the laws of this Church of England, as I verily believe he is not, [5] because he forsook his place in the College upon that account; I can by no means yield my consent to the placing him there, or elsewhere, in any function of this church."]

[3] *The book De Disciplina.*] The work is intitled, *Ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ, et Anglicanæ ecclesiæ ab illa aberrationis plena e verbo Dei et dilucida explicatio.* 1574. The same year was published a translation into English, with some alterations and omissions under the title, *A full and plaine declaration of ecclesiasticall Discipline out off the word of God, and off the declininge off the Church off England from the same.*

[4] *Taking of first-fruits.*] This the Archbishop thought not amiss to suggest to the Lord Treasurer, because it would tend considerably to the lessening of the Queen's revenues. Strype's *Life of Whitgift.* p. 175.

[5] *Believe he is not.*] He was ordained by the Presbytery at Antwerp, May 8, 1578, as appears from the certificate printed in Fuller's *Church History.* Book ix. p. 214. Travers's own vindication of this ordination may be found in his *Supplication to the Council*, printed in Hooker's *Works* Vol. 3. p. 383—385, and in a letter to the Lord Treasurer in Strype's Whitgift. Book 3. Numb 12. Records.

And,

And here I shall make a stop, and, that the reader may the better judge of what follows, give him a character of the times, [6] and temper of the people of this nation, when Mr. Hooker had his admission into this place; a place which he accepted, rather than desired; and yet here he promised himself a virtuous quietness, that blessed tranquility which he always prayed and laboured for, that so he might in peace bring forth the fruits of peace, and glorify God by uninterrupted prayers and praises; for this he always thirsted and prayed; but, Almighty God did not grant it, for his admission into this place, was the very beginning of those oppositions and anxieties, which till then this good man was a stranger to; and of which the reader may guess by what follows.

In this character of the times, I shall, by the reader's favour, and for his information, look so far back as to the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth; a time, in which the many pretended titles to the crown, the frequent treasons, the doubts of her successor, the late civil war, and the sharp persecution for religion that raged to the effusion of so much blood in the reign of Queen Mary, were fresh in the memory of all men; and begot fears in the most pious and wisest of this nation, lest

[6] *A character of the times.*] In adition to what is here written by Walton the reader will find his time amply repaid by a perusal of Hooker's Preface to his Ecclesiastical Polity, especially the first four sections, which present one of the most instructive and interesting peices of moral historical painting that were ever drawn by the pencil of a master: a subject of contemplation, unhappily, but too *necessary for these times.* See also the Preface to Cosins's *Conspiracy for Pretended Reformation.*

Much information concerning the principles and practices of the Puritans, derived chiefly from their own books, and examinations

lest the like days should return again to them or their present posterity. And the apprehension of these dangers begot a hearty desire of a settlement in the church and ſtate, believing there was no other probable way left to make them sit quietly under their own vines and fig-trees, and enjoy the desired fruit of their labours. But time, and peace, and plenty, begot self-ends, and these begot animosities, envy, opposition, and unthankfulness for those very blessings for which they lately thirsted, being then the very utmost of their desires, and even beyond their hopes.

This was the temper of the times in the beginning of her reign [7], and thus it continued too long; for those very people that had enjoyed the desires of

examinations instituted by authority, may be found in the two works of Bancroft, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, intitled, *A Survey of the Pretended Holy Discipline* 4to 1593, and *Dangerous Positions and Proceedings under pretence of Reformation, and for the Presbyterial Discipline.* 1593. 4to.

[7] *In the beginning of her reign.*] The proceedings of the ministers of religion of the mal-content party, and the effects produced or cherished by their influence and efforts in the minds of the deluded multitude, cannot be contemplated without the deepest regret and sorrow. The nation had just passed through a sea of blood; and yet instead of attaining to any thing like repose from controversy, and to the opportunity *of going on unto perfection*, the weighty matters of true religion and christian charity were almost lost and forgotten in idle debates and preachings about caps and surplices, in an undiscriminating abhorrence of popery and papists, and uncontroulable opposition against constituted authorities. And unhappily these men were successful in persuading themselves and the people, that all this was extraordinary and exemplary zeal, and purity, and piety. The Editor thinks that he cannot more effectually co-operate with the design of his author, to hold up the lamentable errors of the time, as a lesson to future ages, than by producing the following extracts from the collections of John Stowe, the historian, a contemporary, and probably an eye-witness of many of the circumstances which he

of their hearts in a reformation from the Church of Rome, became at last so like the grave, as never to be

he describes. They are taken from some memoranda of that writer in the Lambeth Library MSS. No. 306, and it is believed have never before been printed.

"Anno 1563 in September the old Bishops and divers Doctors were removed out of the Tower into the new Bishops houses, there to remain prisoners under their custody (the plague then being in the city was thought to be the cause). But their deliverance, or rather change of prison, did so much offend the people, that the preachers at Paul's Cross, and other places both of the city and country, preached, as it was thought of many wise men, very seditiously: as Baldwin at Paul's Cross, wishing a gallows set up in Smithfield, and the old Bishops and other Papists to be hanged thereon.—Himself died of the plague the next week after."

"The twenty-fixth day of March in anno 1566, being Tuesday, the parsons and ministers of the churches in and about London were, by commandment, at Lambeth, before the Archbishop of Canterbury and other of the Council, where charge was given to them to serve their churches, and wear their apparel according to the Queen's injunctions, or else to do no service; and that same week, or the beginning of the next, came forth a book in print, subscribed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Winchester, Ely, and divers other, which appointed the said ministers to wear their gowns and cloaks with standing collars, and cornered caps; and at their service to wear surplices, or else not to minister &c. After this followed much trouble with the ministers of the city of London: for in most parishes the Sexton of the church did all such service as was done, and that in his coat or gown, as he commonly went about other business. In some places the ministers themselves did service in their gowns or cloaks with turning collars, and hats as they were wont to do, and preached stoutly against the order taken by the Queen and Council, and the Bishops for consenting thereunto: and on the 2d day of April, a burying being at St. Giles without Cripplegate, six clerks wearing surplices before the corpse, Crowley, Vicar of the church, stood in the church door, and withstood them there to enter, saying "the church was his, and the Queen had given it him during his life, and made him Vicar thereof; wherefore he would rule that place, and would not suffer any such superstitious rags of Rome there to enter;"

whereupon

be satisfied, but were still thirsting for more and more; neglecting to pay that obedience, and perform

whereupon was like to have been a great tumult by the reason of parts-taking. But in the end the clerks and those who took their part, according to the Queen's proceedings, were fain to give over, and to tarry without the church door.

"The seventh day of April, being Palm Sunday, the parish of St. Mary Magdalene in Milk Street, making labour to the Bishop, had by him a minister appointed to serve them with Communion that day: and when the said minister was at service in his surplice, and came down to read the Epistle and Gospel in the mean space, one of the same parish caused his servant to convey the Communion cup, and the bread from the table, whereby many persons that were determined that day to have received were disapointed: the which fact was after but made a laughing game."

"The same Palm Sunday, in anno 1566, the 7. of April, a Scot who preached two times every day at Saint Magnus, and ministered every day to all comers of that parish, or any other, in his gown or cloak, preached in the afternoon at Little All-hallows in Thames-street. The most part of his sermon was, as the other of his sermons were and are, against the order taken by the Queen and Council for the apparel of ministers before named, with very bitter and vehement words against the Queen not here to be named; and also against (such) ministers as received the same order. The Minister of the Church, for safeguard of his Living, had received the cap and surplice: wherefore sometime in the sermon he smiled at vehement talk by the preacher used to the contrary. Whereupon after the sermon certain of the parish, namely Wilson a Dyer, and Dickenson a Fishmonger, reasoned with the Minister for his smiling at the preacher, who reasonably answered: but they took the matter so grievously, that they fell from rough words at the last to blows, with them who took part with the Minister.

"The like disquiet doings were that day in divers churches of the city; and also the like on Easter Day, or rather worse; so that in some parish churches the people in great number being ready to receive, such quarrelling and contention was between the Ministers and Parishioners, that to quiet the matter, the church doors were fain to be closed, and the Parishioners to depart unreceiving for that day.

"And on Low Sunday, being the 26. of April, the worshipful of the parish of St. Mildred in Bread-street, bringing a Minister

form those vows which they made in their days of adversities and fear: so that in short time there appeared

a Minister to serve the afternoon with a surplice, were withstanded by the Parson and his adherents: so that at the last the chief of the parish, with the Alderman's Deputy of the Ward were fain to cause the Minister to put on his surplice, and to do his service, they standing by on either side to defend him, till the end of service.

"The Ministers and Preachers that were prohibited to preach or minister did many of them nevertheless minister and preach as they before had done; using words of great vehemency against the order before-said set forth; as also against the Queen, Council and Bishops, for setting forth the same.

"The like seditious libels were written and strewed about in the streets; and two sorts of seditious books were set forth in print and given at their morning congregatings: the one entitled *The Voice of God*, set out by one Towers, a smatterer in musick, and hath of long time laboured to serve in Paul's Church, and there daily to wear a surplice, were it but for ten pounds the year. The other by the whole multitude of London Ministers, every one of them giving their advice in writing unto Robert Crowley, sometime a bookseller, now Reader of St. Antholines, Parson of St. Peter the Poor, Prebend of St. Paul's, Vicar of St. Giles without Cripplegate, and Dean of Hereford in Wales, who compiled the same into one book, naming the same *The Unfolding of the Popish Attire*, against the which book another book being *A Plain Confutation*, was set forth in print with the Queen's privilege. It is to be noted that the authors of these two books before named were no ways punished for the same, but only the printers were kept in the Counter nigh a fortnight, till they had opened who were the authors; but they had friends enowe to have set the whole realm together by the ears.

"On the third day of June, being Whitson-Monday, at night, the Scot, who before had used to preach at St. Magnus, and so sore to inveigh against the Caps, Surplices and such like, did service at St. Margaret Pattyns in Rood-lane, where he wore a surplice; and a certain number of wives threw stones at him, and pulled him forth of the pulpit, renting his surplice, and scratching his face, &c.

"On the fourth day of June, being Tuesday in Whitson week, Philpot, some time a Scrivener, another Reader at St. Antholine's, Parson of St. Michael's in Cornhill, Parson of Stepney,

appeared three several interests, each of them fearless and restless in the prosecution of their designs. They may for distinction be called the active Romanists, the restless Non-conformists (of which

Stepney, and other spiritual promotions; and Gough another Scrivener, the third Reader of St. Antholine's, Parson of St. Peters in Cornhill, for that they were the most earnest withstanders of the laws of this realm before named, concerning the order of ministrations, and the greatest animators of all the whole City to do the like, upon whom the great number of other Ministers did depend, being appointed by the Bishops to go to Winchester, to Robert Horne, the Bishop, with him to persuade or be persuaded for the space of twenty-six days, took their journey over London bridge, through Southwark, and so forth toward Winchester, being accompanied with a great number of women, to the number of two or three hundred, laden with bags and bottles to banquet at their departing; giving them gold, silver, sugar, spice, or otherwise such as they had, animating them most earnestly to stand fast in the same their doctrine, which they had taught touching surplices, caps and such like.

"At Michaelmas next following, Philpot subscribing to them, came to London again, where being much rebuked of his brethren, he sold up his moveable goods, and went to Rye in Kent, where he hath thirty pounds a year, and serveth without a surplice, and keepeth all his other promotions still, as Stepney, Cornhill, &c.

"The twenty-sixth day of January next following, being Sunday, the Bishop of London, coming to St. Margarets in Old Fish-street to preach in the fore-noon, the people, especially the women, that were in the said church, unreverently hooted at him with many opprobrious words, and cried, "Ware horns!" for that he ware a cornered cap: for the which on the Saturday next, being the first day of February, one woman, being the wife of one Simson a tinker, dwelling in Southwark, was set upon two ladders like a cucking-stool, before the same church; where she sat the space of one hour; greatly rejoicing in that her lewd behaviour, and that she was punished for the same: and likewise the beholders of the same did much rejoice therein, and animated the lewd woman to rejoice, and praise the Lord, that he had made her worthy to suffer persecution for righteousness, and for the truth's sake, (as they said) and for crying out against superstition (as they termed it)."

there

there were many sorts) and the passive peaceable Protestant. The counsels of the first considered and resolved on in Rome: the second both in Scotland, in Geneva, and in divers selected, secret, dangerous conventicles, both there, and within the bosom of our own nation: the third pleaded and defended their cause by established laws, both ecclesiastical and civil; and if they were active, it was to prevent the other two from destroying what was by those known laws happily established to them and their posterity.

I shall forbear to mention the very many and dangerous plots of the Romanists, against the Church and State, because what is principally intended in this digression is an account of the opinions and activity of the Non-conformists, against whose judgment and practice Mr. Hooker became at last, but most unwillingly, to be engaged in a book-war; a war, which he maintained, not as against an enemy, but with the spirit of meekness and reason.

In which number of Non-conformists, though some might be sincere, well-meaning men, whose indiscreet zeal might be so like charity, as thereby to cover a multitude of their errors; yet, of this party there were many that were possessed with a high degree of spiritual wickedness; I mean with an innate restless pride and malice. I do not mean the visible and carnal sins of gluttony and drunkenness, and the like (from which good Lord deliver us) but sins of a higher nature, because they are more unlike God, who is the God of love and mercy, and order, and peace; and more like the devil, who is not a glutton, nor can be drunk, and yet is a devil; but I mean those spiritual wickednesses of malice and revenge, and an opposition to Government: men that joyed to be the authors of

misery, which is properly his work that is the enemy and disturber of mankind; and thereby greater sinners than the glutton and drunkard, though some will not believe it. And of this party there were also many, whom prejudice and a furious zeal had so blinded as to make them neither to hear reason, nor adhere to the ways of peace: Men, that were the very dregs and pest of mankind; men whom pride and self-conceit had made to overvalue their own pitiful, crooked wisdom, so much as not to be ashamed to hold foolish and unmannerly disputes against those men whom they ought to reverence, and those laws which they ought to obey; men that laboured and joyed first to find out the faults, and then to speak evil of Government, and to be the authors of confusion; men, whom company, conversation, and custom, had at last so blinded, and made so insensible that these were sins, that, like those that perished in the gainsaying of Core, so these died without repenting of these spiritual wickednesses; of which the practices of Coppinger and Hacket[9] in their lives, and the death of them and their adherents, are, God knows, too sad examples, and ought to be cautions to those men that are inclined to the like spiritual wickednesses.

And in these times, which tended thus to confusion, there were also many of these scruple-mongers that pretended a tenderness of conscience, refusing to take an oath before a lawful magistrate, and yet these very men[1], in their secret conventicles,

[9] *Coppinger and Hacket.*] See Cosins's *Conspiracy for Pretended Reformation, discovering the late Designments and Courses held by William Hacket*, &c. 1592. Bancroft's *Dangerous Positions*, Book 4. Chap. 6—15.

[1] *These very men.*] Of their refusing to be examined on oath, see Bancroft's *Dangerous Positions*, Book 1. Chap. 1. and

ticles, did covenant and swear to each other to be assiduous and faithful in using their best endeavours to set up the presbyterian doctrine and discipline; and both in such a manner as they themselves had not yet agreed on, but up that government must. To which end, there were many that wandered up and down, and were active in sowing discontents and sedition by venomous and secret murmurings, and a dispersion of scurrilous pamphlets and libels [z] against the church and state, but

and Book 3. Chap. 8, 9. But, where Walton says that they covenanted and *swore* to set up their discipline, it should seem that he exceeds the truth. That they *subscribed* to the discipline is most certain; but with regard to their taking *oaths* to maintain it, Bancroft observes, "Our men *as yet* talk in their plat-form *but of subscriptions.*" *Survey*, Chap. 26. p. 310.

The following incident, mentioned by Dr. Bancroft, while it exhibits an instance of a refusal to be examined, will further shew how this zeal about discipline swallowed up all better knowledge in religion. "Having occasion to talke upon a time with an artizan of Kingston, about his refusal (after the *purest* fashion) to be examined upon his oath, because I saw how peart he was, and rapt out text upon text, (full ignorantly, God knoweth) I was so bold as to examine him in the second petition of the Lord's praier, demaunding of him, what he thought was meant by this word *kingdome*, there mentioned. Whereunto he made in effect this answer, without any staggering: "Wee pray," (sayth hee) "that our heavenly Father would at the last grant unto us, that we might have pastors, doctors, elders, and deacons in every parish, and so be governed by such elderships as Christ's holy discipline doth require." Bancroft's *Survey*, Chap. 31. p. 399. edit. 1593.

[z] *Pamphlets and libels.*] For copious extracts and specimens of these publications, see Bancroft's *Dangerous Positions*, Book 3. Hooker, in his dedication to Archbishop Whitgift, condemns "the scurrilous and more than satyrical immodesty of Martinism; the first-published schedules whereof" (says he) "being brought to the hands of a grave and very honourable knight, with signification given, that the book would refresh his spirits, he took it, saw what the title was, read over an unsavoury sentence or two, and delivered back the libel with this answer, I am sorry ye are of the mind to be solaced with

but especially against the Bishops; by which means, together with venomous and indiscreet sermons, [1] the common people became so fanatick, as to believe *the Bishops to be Antichrist*, and the only obstructers of Gods discipline; and at last some of them were given over to so bloody a zeal, and such other desperate delusions, as to find out a text in the Revelation of St. John, that *Antichrist was to be overcome by the sword.* So that those very men, that began with tender and meek petitions, proceeded to admonitions, then to satyrical remonstrances, and at last, having like Absalom numbered who was not, and who was, for their cause, they got a supposed certainty of so great a

with these sports, and sorrier you have herein thought mine affection to be like your own."

[1] *Venomous and indiscreet sermons.*] "It is pitiful to see how in many places of this land, he is thought the only zealous, learned and godly preacher, that can find most faults, pretend most wants, never giving God once thanks for the abundance of his blessings upon this Church and Nation, which for these thirty two years hath been, yea even at this day is a nurse, nay rather a mother to all the Churches almost in all christendom. And whereas we ought to teach repentance, amendment of life, faith to God, obedience to superiors, and charity one to another; to rebuke pride, covetousness, wantonness, newfangledness, slanderings, backbitings, and the like: if none of these be once named, but our spiritual pastors torn and traduced, our own vices not once touched, but the Church and Church-men paid home, then is he in many men's judgments, a zealous man, a child of God, never man spake on this wise." Dr. Wm. James's Sermon at Pauls Cross. Nov. 9. 1589, in the dedication to Sir Christopher Hatton.—See also, *A Godlie Sermon preached before the Queenes Majestie at Greenwich the 26th of March (1574) by Doctor Whitgift, Deane of Lincolne.* Signat. A 8. Another Writer speaking of the manner in which the Preaching Ministers among the Puritans treated the other Clergy, tells us "Dumbe Dog is a great word in their mouthes. That Sermon where Dumbe Dog, is left out, is not worth a pin: it fits not their fancy." Leonard Wrights Summons for Sleepers. p. 20. A. D. 1589.

party, that they durst threaten first the Bishops, and then the Queen and Parliament; to all which they were secretly encouraged by the Earl of Leicester, then in great favour with her Majesty, and the reputed cherisher and patron-general of these pretenders to tenderness of conscience; his design being, by their means, to bring such an odium upon the Bishops, as to procure an alienation of their lands, and a large proportion of them for himself: which avaritious desire, had at last so blinded his reason, that his ambitious and greedy hopes seemed to put him into a present possession of Lambeth-house.

And to these undertakings, the non-conformists of this nation were much encouraged and heightned by a correspondence and confederacy with that brotherhood in Scotland; so that here they became so bold, that * one told the Queen openly in a sermon, "she was like [a] an untamed heifer, that would

* Mr. Dering.

[a] *She was like.*] More accurately the passage stands thus. "If you have prayed in tymes past unto God, to mollifie your enemies hearts, and to bring their cruel practices to nothing, now that you yourself are in safetie, be not cruel unto Gods anointed, and do his prophets no harme. I neede not seeke far for offences, whereat Gods people are grieved; even round about this Chapel. I see a great many; and God in his good time shall root them out. If you have said sometime of yourself, *tanquam ovis*, as a sheep appointed to be slaine, take heed you heare not now of the Prophet, *tanquam indomita juvenca*, as an untamed and unrulie heifer. I will not with many words admonish your Majestie, that are wise enough: onely I will say this, returne into your owne heart, and search your raynes. And here I set before you the tribunal seate of Christ." *A sermon preached before the Queenes Majestie by Maister Edward Dering the 25. of Februarie, anno* 1569, *imprinted* A. D. 1584. *signat. A 7.* The great matter of offence in the Queen's Chapel, it should seem was an organ: for thus speaks the famous *second Admonition to the Parliament*, A. D. 1572. "As for organs and curious singing, though they

would not be ruled by Gods people, but obstructed his discipline." And in Scotland they were more confident, for, there † they declared her an atheist, and grew to such an height, as not to be accountable for any thing spoken against her, nor for treason against their own King, if it were but spoken in the pulpit; shewing at last such a disobedience to him, that his mother being in England, and then in distress, and in prison, and in danger of death; the Church denied the King their prayers for her: and, at another time, when he had appointed a day of feasting, the Church declared for a general fast, in opposition to his authority.

To this height they were grown in both nations; and, by these means there was distilled into the minds of the common people such other venomous and turbulent principles, as were inconsistent with the safety of the church and state; and these opinions vented so daringly, that, beside the loss of life and limbs, the governors of the church and

they be proper to Popish Dens, I mean Cathedral Churches, yet some others also must have them. The Queen's Chapel, which should be a spectacle of Christian Reformation, is rather a pattern and precedant to the people of all superstitions." In other parts of his sermon Dering expresses himself, perhaps, with still greater freedom. See signat. C 6—7.

But the town of St. Edmunds Bury, remarkably affected with Puritanism, exhibited an example of profane and sacrilegious insolence that was not surpassed by any other. After consultation and advice, they painted in the church, under the Queens arms, this sentence, from the book of Revelation C. 2. v. 20, being the reproof of the Church of Thyatira; *Notwithstanding I have a few things against thee, that thou sufferest the woman Jezabel, which maketh herself a prophetess, to teach and to deceive my servants; to make them commit fornications, and to eat meat sacrificed unto Idols.*" Strype's *Annals.* Vol. 3. p. 122.

† Vide Bishop Spotwood's History of the Church of Scotland.

state were forced to use such other severities as will not admit of an excuse, of it had not been to prevent the gangrene of confusion, and the perillous consequences of it; which, without such prevention, would have been first confusion, and then ruin and misery to this numerous nation.

These errors and animosities were so remarkable, that they begot wonder in an ingenious Italian, who being about this time come newly into this nation, and considering them, writ scoffingly to a friend in his own country, to this purpose, "That the common people of England were wiser than the wisest of his nation; for, here the very women and shopkeepers, were able to judge of predestination, and to determine what laws were fit to be made concerning the church-government; and then, what were fit to be obeyed or abolished: that they were more able (or at least thought so) to raise and determine perplexed cases of conscience, than the wisest of the most learned Colleges in Italy; that, men of the slightest learning, and the most ignorant of the common people, were mad for a new, or, super, or re-reformation of religion: and that in this they appeared like that man, who would never cease to whet and whet his knife, till there was no steel left to make it useful." And he concluded his letter with this observation, "That those very men that were most busy in oppositions, and disputations, and controversies, and finding out the faults of their governors, had usually the least of humility and mortification, or, of the power of godliness."

And to heighten all these discontents and dangers, there was also sprung up a generation of godless men; [s] men that had so long given way to

[s] *Of godless men.*] See Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity.* Book 5. §. 2. Strype's *Life of Whitgift.* p. 321.

their

their own lusts and delusions, and so highly opposed the blessed motions of his spirit, and the inward light of their own consciences, that they became the very slaves of vice, and had thereby sinned themselves into a belief of that which they would, but could not, believe; into a belief which is repugnant even to human nature (for the heathens believe that there are many gods) but these had sinned themselves into a belief that there was no God; and so, finding nothing in themselves but what was worse than nothing, began to wish what they were not able to hope for; namely, that they might be like the beasts that perish: and in wicked company (which is the atheists sanctuary) were so bold as to say so, though the worst of mankind, when he is left alone at midnight, may wish, but is not then able to think it: even into a belief that there is no God. Into this wretched, this reprobate condition, many had then sinned themselves.

And now, when the church was pestered with them, and with all those other forenamed irregularities; when her lands were in danger of alienation, her power at least neglected, and her peace torn to pieces by several schisms, and such heresies as do usually attend that sin, (for heresies do usually out-live their first authors) when the common people seemed ambitious of doing those very things that were forbidden and attended with most dangers, that thereby they might be punished, and then applauded and pitied; when they called the spirit of opposition a tender conscience, and complained of persecution, because they wanted power to persecute others: when the giddy multitude raged, and became restless to find out misery for themselves and others; and, the rabble, would herd themselves together, and endeavour to govern and act in spite of authority: in this extremity of fear, and danger of the church and state,

state, when to suppress the growing evils of both, they needed a man of prudence and piety, and of an high and fearless fortitude, they were blest in all by John Whitgift his being made Archbishop of Canterbury; of whom Sir Henry Wotton that knew him well in his youth, and had studied him in his age, gives this true character *: that he was a man of reverend and sacred memory: and, of the primitive temper; such a temper, as when the church by lowliness of spirit did flourish in highest examples of virtue. And indeed, this man proved so.

And, though I dare not undertake to add to this excellent and true character of Sir Henry Wotton: yet, I shall neither do right to this discourse, nor to my reader, if I forbear to give him a further and short account of the life and manners of this excellent man; and it shall be short, for I long to end this digression, that I may lead my reader back to Mr. Hooker where we left him at the Temple.

John Whitgift was born in the county of Lincoln, of a family that was ancient, and noted to be both prudent, and affable, and gentle by nature: he was educated in Cambridge: much of his learning was acquired in Pembroke Hall, (where Mr. Bradford, the martyr, was his tutor) from thence he was removed to Peter-house, from thence to be master of Pembroke Hall, and from thence to the mastership of Trinity College: about which time the Queen made him her chaplain, and not long after prebend of Ely, and then Dean of Lincoln; and having for many years past looked upon him with much reverence and favour, gave him a fair testimony of both, by giving him the Bishoprick of Worcester, and (which was not with her a usual favour) forgiving

* *This true character.*] *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, p. 172, 173.

him

him his first-fruits; then by constituting him vice-president of the principality of Wales. And having experimented his wisdom, his justice, and moderation in the manage of her affairs, in both these places; she, in the 26 of her reign, made him Archbishop of Canterbury, and not long after of her privy council, and trusted him to manage all her ecclesiastical affairs and preferments. In all which removes, he was like the ark, which left a blessing upon the place where it rested; and in all his employments was like Jehoiada, that did good unto Israel.

These were the steps of this Bishop's ascension to this place of dignity and cares: in which place (to speak Mr. Cambden's very words in his annals of Queen Elizabeth) he devoutly consecrated both his whole life to God, and his painful labours to the good of his church. And yet, in this place he met with many oppositions in the regulation of church-affairs, which were much disordered at his entrance, by reason of the age and remissness[5] of Bishop Grindall, his immediate predecessor, the activity of the non-conformists, and their chief assistant the Earl of Leicester; and indeed, by too many others of the like sacrilegious principles. With these he was to encounter; and, though he wanted neither courage, nor a good cause; yet, he foresaw, that without a great measure of the Queen's favour, it was impossible to stand in the breach that had been lately made into the lands and immunities of the church, or indeed, to maintain the remaining lands and rights

[5] *Age and remisness.*] [Or rather by reason of his supension and sequestration, which he lay under, together with the Queen's displeasure, for some years, when the ecclesiastical affairs were managed by certain Civilians. J. S.]

of

of it. And therefore by justifiable sacred insinuations, such as St. Paul to Agrippa *(Agrippa, believest thou? I know thou believest)*, he wrought himself into so great a degree of favour with her, as by his pious use of it, hath got both of them a great degree of fame in this world, and of glory in that into which they are now both entered.

His merits to the Queen, and her favours to him were such, that she called him "her little black husband," and called his servants her servants; and she saw so visible and blessed a sincerity shine in all his cares and endeavours for the church's, and for her good, that she was supposed to trust him with the very secrets of her soul, and to make him her confessor; of which she gave many fair testimonies, and of which one was, that she would never eat flesh in Lent without obtaining a licence from her little black husband: and would often say, "She pitied him because she trusted him, and had thereby eased herself, by laying the burthen of all her clergy-cares upon his shoulders; which he managed with prudence and piety."

I shall not keep myself within the promised rules of brevity in this account of his interest with her Majesty, and his care of the church's rights, if in this digression I should enlarge to particulars; and therefore my desire is, that one example may serve for a testimony of both. And, that the reader may the better understand it, he may take notice, that not many years before his being made Archbishop, there passed an act or acts[6] of Parliament, intending the better preservation of the church-lands, by recalling a power which was

[6] *An act or acts.*] 1 Eliz. cap. 19. 13 Eliz. c. 10. &c. See Burn's *Ecclesiast. Law, art. Leases.*

vested

vested in others to sell or lease them, by lodging and trusting the future care and protection of them only in the crown: and amongst many that made a bad use of this power or trust of the Queen's, the Earl of Leicester was one; and the Bishop having by his interest with her Majesty, put a stop to the Earl's sacrilegious designs, they two fell to an open opposition before her; after which they both quitted the room, not friends in appearance; but the Bishop made a sudden and seasonable return to her Majesty (for he found her alone) and spake to her with great humility and reverence, to this purpose.

"I beseech your Majesty to hear me with patience, and to believe that your's, and the church's safety, are dearer to me than my life; but, my conscience dearer than both; and therefore give me leave to do my duty, and tell you, that Princes are deputed nursing fathers of the church, and owe it a protection; and therefore God forbid that you should be so much as passive in her ruins, when you may prevent it; or that I should behold it without horror and detestation, or should forbear to tell your Majesty of the sin and danger of sacrilege. And, though you and myself were born in an age of frailties, when the primitive piety and care of the church's lands and immunities are much decayed; yet (Madam) let me beg that you would first consider that there are such sins as prophaneness and sacrilege; and, that if there were not, they could not have names in holy writ, and particularly in the New Testament. And I beseech you to consider, that though our Saviour said, *He judged no man;* and to testify it, would not judge nor divide the inheritance betwixt the two brethren; nor would judge the woman taken

in

in adultery: yet, in this point of the church's rights he was so zealous, that he made himself both the accuser, and the judge, and the executioner too, to punish these sins; witnessed, in that he himself made the whip to drive the prophaners out of the Temple, overthrew the tables of the money-changers, and drove them out of it. And I beseech you to consider that it was St. Paul that said to those Christians of his time that were offended with idolatry, and yet committed sacrilege; *Thou that abhorrest idols, dost thou commit sacrilege?* supposing (I think) sacrilege the greater sin. This may occasion your Majesty to consider that there is such a sin as sacrilege; and to incline you to prevent the curse that will follow it. I beseech you also to consider, that Constantine the first christian Emperor, and Helena his mother; that King Edgar and Edward the Confessor, and indeed many others of your predecessors, and many private Christians, have also given to God, and to his church, much land, and many immunities, which they might have given to those of their own families, and did not; but, gave them for ever as an absolute right and sacrifice to God: And, with these immunities and lands they have entailed a curse[7] upon the alienators of them. God prevent your Majesty and your successors from being liable to that curse which will cleave unto church-lands, as the leprosy to the Jews.

7 *Entailed a curse.*] See Sir H. Spelman. *De non temerandis Ecclesiis.* "The founders of religious houses, in the conclusion of their deed, following the example of Darius (Ezra, c. 6. v. 12.), imprecate a most heavy curse on those that violate or withdraw their gifts; *venientibus contra hæc et destruentibus ea occurrat Deus in gladio iræ, et furoris, et vindictæ, et maledictionis æternæ.*" Pref. p. 14. edit. 1704.

"And,

" And, to make you that are trusted with their preservation, the better to understand the danger of it, I beseech you forget not, that to prevent these curses, the church's land and power have been also endeavoured to be preserved (as far as human reason, and the law of this nation have been able to preserve them) by an immediate and most sacred obligation on the consciences of the princes of this realm: for, they that consult *Magna Charta*, shall find, that as all your predecessors were at their coronation, so you also were sworn before all the nobility and bishops then present, and in the presence of God, and in his stead to him that anointed you, *To maintain the church-lands, and the rights belonging to it;* and this you yourself have testified openly to God at the holy altar, by laying your hands on the Bible then lying upon it: And, not only *Magna Charta*, but many modern statutes have denounced a curse upon those that break Magna Charta: a curse like the leprosy, that was entailed on the Jews; for, as that, so these curses have and will cleave to the very stones of those buildings that have been consecrated to God; and, the father's sin of sacrilege, hath and will prove to be entailed on his son and family. And now Madam, what account can be given for the breach of this oath at the last great day, either by your majesty, or by me, if it be wilfully, or but negligently violated, I know not.

" And therefore, good madam, let not the late lord's exceptions against the failings of some few clergymen, prevail with you to punish posterity, for the errors of this present age; let particular men suffer for their particular errors; but, let God and his church have their inheritance: And, though I pretend not to prophecy; yet I beg posterity to take notice of what is already become visible

visible[8] in many families; that church-land added to an ancient and just inheritance, hath proved like a moth fretting a garment, and secretly consumed both: Or, like the eagle[9] that stole a coal from the altar, and thereby set her nest on fire, which consumed both her young eagles, and herself that stole it. And, though I shall forbear to speak reproachfully of your father, yet I beg you to take notice, that a part of the church's rights, added to the vast treasure[1] left him by his father, hath been conceived to bring an unavoidable consumption upon both, notwithstanding all his diligence to preserve them.

"And consider that after the violation of those laws, to which he had sworn in *Magna Charta*, God did so far deny him his restraining grace, that as King Saul after he was forsaken of God, fell from one sin to another; so he, till at last he fell into greater sins than I am willing to mention. Madam, religion is the foundation and cement of human societies: and when they that serve at God's

[8] *Already become visible.*] See Sir H. Spelman's *History and Fate of Sacrilege:* and his Tract *De non temerandis*, &c.

[9] *Or like the eagle.*] "God of his infinite mercie multiplie her Majesties daies, that she maie raigne manie and manie yeares still over us. If it had not been for her most princelie and most religious care of the church, the children of Edom had long before this time greatlie indaungered it. But this I will say unto them, that if ever they obtain their desires, which I know they shall never do in her Highness time, they shall not possess a pennie worthe of the churches goods, which, I am persuaded, will not prove unto them to *be like the gold of Tholossa*, whereof none had part that ever prospered afterward. I could shew some reasons of this my persuasion, but I am a man not verie grateful to that sort of reformers." Bancroft's *Survey of the pretended Holy Discipline*, p. 247. edit. 1593.

[1] *The vast treasure.*] See Spelman *De non temerandis ecclesiis.* Pref. p. 43.

altar,

altar, shall be exposed to poverty, then, religion itself will be exposed to scorn, and become contemptible, as you may already observe it to be in too many poor vicarages in this nation. And therefore, as you are by a late act or acts of parliament entrusted with a great power to preserve or waste the church's lands, yet, dispose of them for Jesus sake, as you have promised to men, and vowed to God, that is, as the donors intended: let neither falshood nor flattery beguile you to do otherwise; but, put a stop to God's and the Levite's portion (I beseech you) and to the approaching ruins of his church, as you expect comfort at the last great day; for, kings must be judged. Pardon this affectionate plainness, my most dear sovereign: and, let me beg to be still continued in your favour, and the lord still continue you in his."

The Queen's patient hearing this affectionate speech, and her future care to preserve the church's rights, which till then had been neglected, may appear a fair testimony, that he made her's and the church's good the chiefest of his cares, and that she also thought so. And of this there were such daily testimonies given, as begot betwixt them so mutual a joy and confidence, that they seemed born to believe and do good to each other; she not doubting his piety to be more than all his opposers, which were many; nor doubting his prudence to be equal to the chiefest of her council, who were then as remarkable for active wisdom, as those dangerous times did require, or this nation did ever enjoy. And in this condition he continued twenty years; in which time, he saw some flowings, but many more ebbings of her favour towards all men that had opposed him, especially the Earl of Leicester: so that God seemed still to keep him

him in her favour, that he might preserve the remaining church lands and immunities from sacrilegious alienations. And this good man deserved all the honour and power with which she gratified and trusted him; for, he was a pious man, and naturally of noble and grateful principles: he eased her of all her church-cares by his wise manage of them; he gave her faithful and prudent counsels in all the extremities and dangers of her temporal affairs, which were very many; he lived to be the chief comfort of her life in her declining age, and to be then most frequently with her, and her assistant at her private devotions; he lived to be the greatest comfort of her soul upon her death-bed; to be present at the expiration of her last breath, and to behold the closing of those eyes that had long looked upon him with reverence and affection. And let this also be added, that he was the chief mourner at her sad funeral; nor let this be forgotten, that within a few hours after her death, he was the happy proclaimer, that King James (her peaceful successor) was heir to the crown.

Let me beg of my reader to allow me to say a little, and but a little, more of this good Bishop, and I shall then presently lead him back to Mr. Hooker. And, because I would hasten, I will mention but one part of the Bishop's charity and humility; but this of both. He built a large alm's-house near to his own palace at Croyden in Surry, and endowed it with maintenance for a master and twenty-eight poor men and women; which he visited so often, that he knew their names and dispositions, and was so truly humble, that he called them brothers and sisters: and whensoever the Queen descended to that lowliness to dine with him at his palace at Lambeth (which was very often) he would usually the next day shew the like lowliness to his poor brothers and sisters at Croydon.

Croydon, and dine with them at his hospital; at which time, you may believe, there was joy at the table. And at this place he built also a fair free-school, with a good accommodation and maintenance for the master and scholars; which gave just occasion for Boyse Sisi, then embassador for the French King, and resident here, at the Bishop's death to say, "The Bishop had published many learned books, but a free-school to train up youth, and an hospital to lodge and maintain aged and poor people, were the best evidences of christian learning that a bishop could leave to posterity." This good Bishop lived to see King James settled in peace, and then fell into an extreme sickness at his palace at Lambeth; of which, when the King had notice, he went presently to visit him, and found him in his bed in a declining condition, and very weak; and after some short discourse betwixt them, the King, at his departure assured him, "He had a great affection for him, and a very high value for his prudence and virtues, and would endeavour to beg his life of God for the good of his church." To which the good Bishop replied, *Pro Ecclesia Dei, Pro Ecclesia Dei;* which were the last words he ever spake; therein testifying, that as in his life, so at his death, his chiefest care was of God's church.

This John Whitgift was made Archbishop in the year 1583. In which busy place, he continued twenty years and some months; and in which time, you may believe, he had many trials of his courage and patience; but his motto was, Vincit, qui patitur: and he made it good.

Many of his many trials were occasioned by the then powerful Earl of Leicester, who did still (but secretly) raise and cherish a faction of non-confor-

mists to oppose him; especially one Thomas Cartwright, a man of noted learning, sometime contemporary with the Bishop in Cambridge, and of the same college, of which the Bishop had been master; in which place there began some emulations (the particulars I forbear), and at last open and high oppositions betwixt them; and, in which you may believe Mr. Cartwright was most faulty, if his expulsion out of the University can incline you to it.

And in this discontent after the Earl's death (which was 1588.) Mr. Cartwright appeared a chief cherisher of a party that were for the Geneva church-government; and to effect it, he ran himself into many dangers both of liberty and life; appearing at the last to justify himself and his party in many remonstrances, which he caused to be printed, and to which the Bishop made a first answer, and Cartwright replied upon him; and then the Bishop having rejoined to his first reply, Mr. Cartwright either was[a], or was persuaded to be, satisfied: for he wrote no more, but left the reader to be judge which had maintained their cause with most charity and reason.

[And to posterity he left such a learned and most useful book, as does abundantly establish

[a] *Either was.*] This statement is incorrect. One would be inclined to suspect, that the passage was intended to stand thus: "the Bishop having rejoined to *this* first reply *of* Mr. Cartwright either was, &c." Whitgift's *Answer to the Admonition* came out in 1572, 4to. and again in 1573. Cartwright's *Reply to an Answer made of M. Doctor Whitgift*, without date, in 1573. Then appeared Whitgift's *Defence of his Answer*, fol. 1574: after which Cartwright published his *second reply*, 1575. 4to. and *the rest of the second reply*, 1577. 4to. After writing his very able and elaborate work, *the Defence*, 1574, Whitgift meddled no more, publickly, in that controversy.

the reformation and constitution of our Church, and vindicate it against all the cavils of the innovators.]

After some silence, Mr. Cartwright received from the Bishop many personal favours, and betook himself to a more private living, which was at Warwick, where he was made master of an hospital, and lived quietly, and grew rich; and, where the Bishop gave him a licence to preach, upon promises not to meddle with controversies, but incline his hearers to piety and moderation; and this promise he kept during his life, which ended 1602. the Bishop surviving him but some few months; each ending his days in perfect charity with the other.

[It is true the Archbishop treated Cartwright with such civility as gained much upon him, and made him declare unto his patron, the Earl of Leicester, how much the Archbishop's humane carriage had endeared him to him; and withal shewed his desire that he might have liberty sometimes to have access to him: professing that he would seek to persuade all with whom he had concern and converse to keep up an union with the Church of England. This I say is certain; but it is not so certain, that the Archbishop gave Cartwright a licence to preach. It appears, that, in the year 1585, he refused to grant it him, however solicited by Leicester's own letter to do it: and notwithstanding Cartwright's promises, he required more space of time to be satisfied of his conformity. For the elucidation whereof, and some further light into this matter, let both these letters be read and considered; the former of the Earl to the Archbishop, the latter of the Archbishop to the Earl.

" My good Lord,

" I most heartily thank you for your favourable and courteous usage of Mr. Cartwright, who hath so exceeding kindly taken it also, as I assure your Grace, he cannot speak enough of it. I trust it shall do a great deal of good. And he protesteth and professeth to me to take no other course, but to the drawing of all men to the unity of the church: and that your Grace hath so dealt with him, as no man shall so command him and dispose of him as you shall: and doth mean to let this opinion publicly be known, even in the pulpit (if your Grace so permit him) what he himself [will] and would all others should do, for obedience to the laws established. And if any little scruple be, it is not great, and easy to be reformed by your Grace; whom I do most heartily entreat to continue your favours and countenance towards him, with such access sometimes as your leisure may permit. For I perceive he doth much desire and crave it, &c. Thus, my good Lord, praying to God to bless his church, and to make his servants constant and faithful, I bid your Grace farewell.

Your Grace's very assured friend,

ROB. LEICESTER."

" At the Court, this 14th of July."

To which letter the Archbishop returned this answer:

" My singular good Lord,

" Mr. Cartwright shall be welcome to me at all times; and using himself quietly as becomes him, and as I hope he will, he shall find me willing to do

do him any good, but to grant unto him as yet, my licence to preach, without longer trial, I cannot; especially seeing he protesteth himself to be of the same mind he was at the writing of his book, for the matter thereof, though not for the manner; myself also, I thank God, not altered in any point, by me set down, to the contrary; and knowing many things [in his book] to be very dangerous. Wherefore, notwithstanding I am content and ready to be at peace with him, so long as he liveth peaceably; yet doth my conscience and duty forbid me to give unto him any further public approbation, until I be better persuaded of his conformity. And so being bold to use my accustomed plainness with your good Lordship, I commit you to the tuition of Almighty God, this 17th of July, 1585."]

And now after this long digression made for the information of my reader concerning what follows, I bring him back to venerable Mr. Hooker, where we left him in the Temple; and, where we shall find him as deeply engaged in a controversy with Walter Travers, a friend and favourite of Mr. Cartwright's, as the Bishop had ever been with Mr. Cartwright himself; and of which I shall proceed to give this following account.

And first this; that though the pens of Mr. Cartwright and the Bishop were now at rest, yet there was sprung up a new generation of restless men, that by company and clamours became possest of a faith which they ought to have kept to themselves, but could not; men that were become positive in asserting, *That a Papist cannot be saved:* insomuch that about this time, at the execution of the Queen of Scots, the Bishop that preached her

funeral sermon (which was Dr. Howland[3], then Bishop of Peterborough) was reviled for not being

[3] *Doctor Howland.*] "Dr. Richard Howland, Master of John's College in Cambridge, and the fourth bishop of Peterborough, died in 1600. It does not appear that he was the preacher on this occasion.

"Gunton, in his *History of the Church of Peterborough*, page 73, &c. has given a circumstantial account of the funeral of Mary Q. of Scots, on Tuesday, Aug. 1, 1587, six months after her death, for she was beheaded in the castle of Fotheringay, February 8, in that year. He relates that the Bishop of Lincoln (Wickham) preached out of the 39th Psalm 5, 6, 7, *Lord, let me know my end and the number of my days*, &c. In the prayer, when he gave thanks for such as were translated out of this vale of misery, he used these words: "Let us give thanks for the happy dissolution of the high and mighty Princess Mary, late queen of Scotland, and dowager of France, of whose life and death at this time I have not much to say, because I was not acquainted with the one, neither was I present at the other. I will not enter into judgment further; but, because it hath been signified to me that she trusted to be saved by the blood of Christ, we must hope well of her salvation, for, as Father Luther was wont to say, many one that liveth a Papist, dieth a Protestant." In the discourse of his text he only dealt with general doctrine of the vanity of all flesh.

In the Supplement subjoined to *Gunton's History*, p. 331, the subject of the sermon is resumed. "Bishop Morton, in his *Protestant Appeal* l. iv. c. 1, hath given the best account I meet with of that passage (which in the *Apology of the Roman Church* is taken out of *Martin Mar-prelate)* in the bishop of Lincoln's sermon at her (the Q. of Scots) funeral, which made so great noise among factious people, who reported, that he prayed *his soul and the souls of all there present might be saved with the soul of the Queen deceased.* But the truth of the story he says is this, that the rev. bishop now mentioned, understanding how that great and honourable personage in the last act of her life renounced all presumption of her own inherent righteousness, and wholly affianced her soul unto Christ, in belief to be justified only by his satisfactory justice, did therefore conceive hope of her salvation by virtue of that cordial prescribed by the holy Apostle, viz. that *where sin aboundeth, the grace of God doth superabound.*" The above note is transcribed from Dr. Zouch.

positive for her damnation. And beside this boldness of their becoming gods, so far as to set limits to his mercies; there was not only one *Martin Mar-prelate*, but other venomous books daily printed and dispersed; books, that were so absurd and scurrilous, that the graver divines disdained them an answer. And yet these were grown into high esteem with the common people, till Tom Nash appeared against them all; who was a man of a sharp wit, and the master of a scoffing satirical merry pen, which he employed to discover the absurdities of those blind malicious senseless pamphlets, and sermons as senseless as they; Nash's answers being like his books, which bore these or like titles, *An Almond for a Parrot. A Fig for my God-son, Come crack me this Nut*, and the like: so that his merry wit made some sport, and such a discovery of their absurdities as (which is strange) he put a greater stop to these malicious pamphlets, than a much wiser man had been able.

And now the reader is to take notice, that at the death of Father Alvie, who was master of the Temple, this Walter Travers was lecturer there for the evening sermons, which he preached with great approbation, especially of some citizens, and the younger gentlemen of that society; and for the most part approved by Mr. Hooker himself, in the midst of their oppositions: for he continued lecturer a part of his time: Mr. Travers being indeed a man of competent learning, of a winning behaviour, and of a blameless life. But he had taken orders by the Presbytery in Antwerp (and with them some opinions, that could never be eradicated) and if in any thing he was transported, it was in an extreme desire to set up that government in this nation: for the promoting of which, he had a correspondence with Theodore Beza at Geneva, and others

others in Scotland; and was one of the chiefest assistants to Mr. Cartwright in that design.

Mr. Travers had also a particular hope to set up this government in the temple, and to that end used his most zealous endeavours to be master of it; and, his being disappointed by Mr. Hooker's admittance, proved the occasion of a public opposition betwixt them, in their sermons. Many of which were concerning the doctrine and ceremonies of this church: Insomuch that, as St. Paul withstood St. Peter to his face, so did they withstand each other in their sermons; for, as one hath pleasantly exprest it, "The forenoon sermon spake Canterbury, and the afternoon, Geneva."

In these sermons there was little of bitterness, but each party brought all the reasons he was able to prove his adversaries opinion erroneous. And thus it continued a long time, till the oppositions became so visible, and the consequences so dangerous, especially in that place, that the prudent Arch-bishop put a stop to Mr. Travers's preaching by a positive prohibition [and that chiefly because of his foreign ordination]: against which Mr. Travers appealed and petitioned her Majesty's privy council to have it recalled: where besides his patron the Earl of Leicester, he met also with many assisting friends; but they were not able to prevail with, or against the Arch-bishop, whom the Queen had intrusted with all church-power: and, he had received so fair a testimony of Mr. Hooker's principles, and of his learning and moderation, that he withstood all solicitations.——But the denying this petition of Mr. Travers was unpleasant to divers of his party; and the reasonableness of it became at last to be so publicly magnified by them and many others of that party, as never to be answered: so that intending the Bishop's and Mr. Hooker's dis-

grace, they procured it to be privately printed, and scattered abroad: and then Mr. Hooker was forced to appear and make as public an answer: which he did, and dedicated it to the Archbishop; and it proved so full an answer, an answer that had in it so much of clear reason, and writ with so much meekness and majesty of stile, that the Bishop began to have him in admiration, and to rejoice that he had appeared in his cause, and disdained not earnestly to beg his friendship, even, a familiar friendship, with a man of so much quiet learning and humility.

To enumerate the many particular points, in which Mr. Hooker and Mr. Travers dissented, (all or most of which, I have seen written) would prove at least tedious; and therefore, I shall impose upon my reader no more then two, which shall immediately follow, and by which, he may judge of the rest.

Mr. Travers excepted against Mr. Hooker, for that in one of his sermons he declared, "that the assurance of what we believe by the word of God, is not to us so certain as that which we perceive by sense." And Mr. Hooker confesseth he said so; and endeavours to justify it by the reasons following.

"First, I taught, That the things which God promises in his word are surer than what we touch, handle, or see; but are we so sure and certain of them? if we be, why doth God so often prove his promises to us, as he doth, by arguments drawn from our sensible experience? For we must be surer of the proof than of the things proved; otherwise it is no proof. For example: how is it that many men looking on the moon at the same time, every one knoweth it to be the moon, as certainly as the other doth: but many believing one and the same promise,

promise, have not all one and the same fullness of persuasion? For how falleth it out, that men being assured of any thing by sense, can be no surer of it than they are; when as the strongest in faith that liveth upon the earth, hath always need to labour, strive and pray, that his assurance concerning heavenly and spiritual things may grow, increase, and be augmented?"

The sermon[4] that gave him the cause of this his justification makes the case more plain, by declaring "that there is besides this certainty of evidence, a certainty of adherence:" in which having most excellently demonstrated what the certainty of adherence is, he makes this comfortable use of it, "Comfortable" (he says) "as to weak believers, who suppose themselves to be faithless, not to believe, when notwithstanding they have their adherence; the Holy Spirit hath his private operations, and worketh secretly in them, and effectually too, though they want the inward testimony of it."

Tell this, saith he, to a man that hath a mind too much dejected by a sad sense of his sin; to one that by a too severe judging of himself, concludes that he wants faith, because he wants the comfortable assurance of it; and his answer will be, Do not persuade me against my knowledge, against what I find and feel in myself; I do not, I know I do not believe. (Mr. Hooker's own words follow) "Well then, to favour such men a little in their weakness, let that be granted which they do imagine; be it that they adhere not to God's promises, but are faithless and without belief; but are they not grieved for their unbelief? they confess they are; do they not wish it

4 *The sermon.*] "Of the certainty and perpetuity of Faith in the Elect." Compare also Hooker's *Works*. Vol. 3. p. 389. 408, 409. 422. edit. 1793.

might,

might, and also strive that it may be otherways? we know they do: whence cometh this, but from a secret love and liking that they have of those things believed? For, no man can love those things which in his own opinion are not; and, if they think those things to be, which they shew they love when they desire to believe them; then must it be, that by desiring to believe, they prove themselves true believers; for, without faith no man thinketh that things believed are: which argument all the subtilties of infernal powers will never be able to dissolve." This is an abridgment of part of the reasons Mr. Hooker gives for his justification of this his opinion for which he was excepted against by Mr. Travers.

Mr. Hooker was also accused by Mr. Travers, for that he in one of his sermons had declared, that "he doubted not but that God was merciful to many of our fore-fathers living in popish superstition, for as much as they sinned ignorantly:" and Mr. Hooker in his answer professeth it to be his judgment, and declares his reasons for this charitable opinion to be as followeth.

But first, [because Travers's argument against this charitable opinion of Hooker was, that they could not be saved, because they sought to be justified by the merit of their works, and so overthrew the foundation of faith], he states the question about justification and works, and how the foundation of faith without works is overthrown; and then he proceeds to discover that way which natural men and some others have mistaken to be the way by which they hope to attain true and everlasting happiness; and having discovered the mistaken, he proceeds to direct to that true way, by which, and and no other, everlasting life and blessedness is attainable. And, these two ways he demonstrates thus:

thus: (they be his own words that follow) "That, the way of nature, this, the way of grace; the end of that way, salvation merited, presupposing the righteousness of men's works; their righteousness, a natural ability to do them; that ability, the goodness of God which created them in such perfection. But, the end of this way, salvation bestowed upon men as a gift: presupposing not their righteousness, but the forgiveness of their unrighteousness, justification; their justification, not their natural ability to do good, but their hearty sorrow for not doing, and unfeigned belief in him for whose sake not doers are accepted, which is their vocation; their vocation, the election of God, taking them out of the number of lost children; their election a mediator in whom to be elected; this mediation inexplicable mercy; this mercy, supposing their misery for whom he vouchsafed to die, and make himself a mediator."

And he also declareth, "There is no meritorious cause for our justification but Christ; no effectual but his mercy;" and says also, "We deny the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, we abuse, disannul, and annihilate the benefit of his passion, if by a proud imagination we believe we can merit everlasting life, or can be worthy of it. This belief (he declareth) is to destroy the very essence of our justification: and he makes all opinions that border upon this, to be very dangerous. Yet nevertheless (and for this he was accused) "Considering how many virtuous and just men, how many saints and martyrs have had their dangerous opinions, amongst which this was one, that they hoped to make God some part of amends by voluntary punishments which they laid upon themselves; because of this or the like erroneous opinions which do by consequence overthrow the merits of Christ, shall man be

be so bold as to write on their graves, such men are damned, there is for them no salvation? St. Austin says, errare possum, Hæreticus esse nolo. And except we put a difference betwixt them that err ignorantly, and them that obstinately persist in it, how is it possible that any man should hope to be saved? Give me a Pope or a Cardinal, whom great afflictions have made to know himself; whose heart God hath touched with true sorrow for all his sins, and filled with a love of Christ and his Gospel, whose eyes are willingly open to see the truth, and his mouth ready to renounce all error, this one opinion of merit excepted, which he thinketh God will require at his hands, and because he wanteth, trembleth, and is discouraged, and yet can say, Lord cleanse me from all my secret sins, shall I think because of this or a like error such men touch not so much as the hem of Christ's garment? if they do, wherefore should I doubt but that virtue may proceed from Christ to save them? no, I will not be afraid to say to such a one, you err in your opinion: but be of good comfort, you have to do with a merciful God who will make the best of that little which you hold well; and, not with a captious Sophister, who gathereth the worst out of every thing in which you are mistaken."

"But it will be said" (says Mr. Hooker) "The admittance of merit in any degree, overthroweth the foundation, excludeth from the hope of mercy, from all possibility of salvation." (And now Mr. Hooker's own words[5] follow)

"What, though they hold the truth sincerely in all other parts of Christian faith; although they have in some measure all the virtues and graces of the spirit; although they have all other tokens of

[5] *Own words.*] *Works*, Vol. 3. p. 485.

God's

God's children in them; although they be far from having any proud opinion that they shall be saved by the worthiness of their deeds; although the only thing that troubleth and molesteth them be a little too much dejection, somewhat too great a fear arising from an erroneous conceit, that God will require a worthiness in them, which they are grieved to find wanting in themselves? although they be not obstinate in this opinion? although they be willing and would be glad to forsake it, if any one reason were brought sufficient to disprove it? although the only cause why they do not forsake it ere they die, be their ignorance of that means by which it might be disproved? although the cause why the ignorance in this point is not removed, be the want of knowledge in such as should be able, and are not to remove it; Let me die (says Mr. Hooker) if it be ever proved, that simply an error doth exclude a Pope or Cardinal in such a case utterly from hope of life. Surely I must confess, that if it be an error to think that God may be merciful to save men even when they err; my greatest comfort is my error: were it not for the love I bear to this error, I would never wish to speak or to live."

I was willing to take notice of these two points, as supposing them to be very material; and that as they are thus contracted, they may prove useful to my reader; as also, for that the answers be arguments of Mr. Hooker's great and clear reason, and equal charity. Other exceptions were also made against him by Mr. Travers, as, "That he prayed before and not after his sermons; that in his prayers he named Bishops; that he kneeled both when he prayed and when he received the sacrament," and (says Mr. Hooker in his defence) "other exceptions so like these, as but to name, I should

should have thought a greater fault than to commit them."

And it is not unworthy the noting, that in the manage of so great a controversy, a sharper reproof than this, and one like it, did never fall from the happy pen of this humble man. That like it was upon a like occasion of exceptions, to which his answer was, "Your next argument consists of railing and of reasons; to your railing, I say nothing; to your reasons, I say what follows." And I am glad of this fair occasion, to testify the dove-like temper of this meek, this matchless man; and doubtless, if Almighty God had blest the dissenters from the ceremonies and discipline of this church, with a like measure of wisdom and humility, instead of their pertinacious zeal; then, obedience and truth had kissed each other; then peace and piety had flourished in our nation, and this church and state had been blest like *Jerusalem that is at unity with itself;* but this can never be expected, till God shall bless the common people of this nation with a belief *that schism is a sin; and, they not fit to judge what is schism:* and bless them also with a belief, *That there may be offences taken, which are not given*; and, *That laws are not made for private men to dispute, but to obey.*

[Before we pass from these unhappy disputations between Hooker and Travers, as we have heard two articles of pretended false doctrine objected by the one to the other, so it is pity the rest should be wholly lost, and for ever buried in silence: therefore for the making this considerable part of the reverend man's life and history compleat, and to retrieve whatsoever may be gotten of the pen and mind of [illegible] learned and judicious a person, take this further [illegible] only of two, but of all the articles that his [illegible] adversary had marshalled

marshalled up against him, collected from a sermon or sermons he had heard him preach at the Temple, together with his endeavoured confutation of them: and likewise Hooker's own vindication of himself to each of those articles. These articles seem to have been delivered by Travers to the Lord Treasurer. The same Lord delivered them to Hooker to consider of, and to make his reply to. And of these articles the Archbishop also was privy, and briefly declared his judgment and determination of them. I shall set all down exactly from an authentic manuscript,

"Doctrines delivered by Mr. Hooker, as they were set down and shewed by Mr. Travers, Mar. 30, 1585, under this title;

"*A short note of sundry unsound points of doctrine at divers times delivered by Mr. Hooker in his publick sermons.*

"1. The church of Rome is a true church of Christ, and a church sanctified by profession of that truth, which God hath revealed unto us by his Son, though not a pure and perfect church.

"2. The fathers which lived and died in Popish superstition were saved, because they sinned ignorantly.

"3. They which are of the church of Rome may be saved by such a faith as they have in Christ, and a general repentance of all their sins.

"4 The church of Rome holdeth all men sinners, even the blessed Virgin, though some of them think otherwise of her.

"5. The church of Rome teacheth Christ's righteousness to be the only meritorious cause of taking away sin.

"6. The

" 6. The Galatians which joined with faith in Christ, circumcision as necessary unto salvation, notwithstanding be saved.

" 7. Neither the church of Rome, nor the Galatians deny the foundation directly, but only by consequent: and therefore may be saved. Or else neither the Lutherans, nor whosoever hold any error (for every error by consequent, denieth the foundation) may be saved.

" 8. An additament taketh not away that whereunto it is added, but confirmeth it. As he that saith of any, he is a *righteous man*, saith that he is a man: except it be privative; as when he saith, he is a *dead man*: then he denieth him to be a man: and of this sort of [privative] additaments neither are works which are added to Christ by the church of Rome; nor circumcision added to him by the Galatians.

" 9. The Galatians' case is harder than the case of the church of Rome; for they added to Christ circumcision, which God had forbidden and abolished: but that which the church of Rome addeth are works, which God hath commanded.

" 10. No one sequel urged by the Apostle against the Galatians, for joining circumcision with Christ, but may be as well enforced against the Lutherans holding ubiquity.

" 11. A Bishop or a Cardinal of the church of Rome, yea, the Pope himself, denying all other errors of popery, notwithstanding his opinion of justification by works, may be saved.

" 12. Predestination is not of the absolute will of God, but conditional.

" 13. The doings of the wicked are not of the will of God positive, but only permissive.

" 14. The reprobates are not rejected, but for the

the evil works which God did foresee they would commit.

" 15. The assurance of things which we believe by the word, is not so sure, as of those which we perceive by sense."

Here follows an account given in by Mr. Hooker himself, of what he preached March 28, 1585. And then of what Travers in his Lectures excepted thereunto. And lastly of Hooker's reply and vindication of himself and his sermons.

" I doubted not but that God was merciful to thousands of our fathers, which lived in Popish superstition: for that they sinned ignorantly. But we have the light of the truth.

" * Which doctrine was withstood, because we are commanded to depart out of Babylon, else we should be partakers of those plagues there denounced against such as repent not of their superstitions: which they cannot who know them not.

" I answered that there were thousands in our days who hate sin, desiring to walk according to the will of God; and yet committing sin which they know not to be sin. I think that they that

* [Travers's own answer:

Salvation belongeth to the church of Christ. We may not think that they could be capable of it which lived in the error held and maintained in the church of Rome, that seat of Antichrist. Wherefore to his people God speaketh in this sort: Go out of Babylon my people, go out of her, that you be not partaker of her sins, and that you taste not of her plagues.

The Galatians thinking that they could not be saved by Christ, except they were circumcised, did thereby exclude themselves from salvation. Christ did profit them nothing. So they which join their own works with Christ.]

desire

desire forgiveness of secret sins, which they know not to be sins, and that are sorry for sins, that they know not to be sins, [such] do repent.

" It is replied that without faith there is no repentance. Our fathers in desiring mercy did but as divers Pagans; and had no true repentance.

" They thought they could not be saved by Christ without works, as the Galatians did, and so they denied the foundation of faith.

" I answered, although the proposition were true, that he who thinketh he cannot be saved by Christ, without works, overthroweth the foundation; yet we may persuade ourselves that our forefathers might be saved. 1st. Because many of them were ignorant of the dogmatical positions of the church of Rome. 2dly. Albeit they had divers positions of that church, yet it followeth not that they had this. 3dly. Although they did generally hold this position, yet God might be merciful unto them. No exception hath been taken against any one of these assertions. 4thly. I add, that albeit all those of whom we speak, did not only hold this generally, but as the scholars of Rome hold this position now of joining works with Christ; whether doth that position overthrow the foundation directly or only by consequence? If it doth overthrow the foundation directly, &c. To make all plain, these points are to be handled. First, what is meant by the foundation? Secondly, what it is to deny the foundation directly. Thirdly, whether the elect may be so deceived, that they may come to this, to deny the foundation directly? Fourthly, whether the Galatians did directly deny it? Fifthly, whether the church of Rome, by joining works with Christ in the matter of salvation, do directly deny it?

I. "To the first I answer: The foundation is, that which Peter, Nathaniel, and the Samaritan, confessed; and that which the Apostles expressly [affirm], Acts IV. *There is none other name under Heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved.* It is, in fine, this, Salvation is by Christ only. This word *only*, what doth it exclude? [As when we say] This judge shall *only* determine this matter: this *only* doth not exclude all other things, besides the person of the judge; as necessary witnesses, the equity of the cause, &c. but *all persons:* and not all persons from being present, but from determining the cause. So when we say, salvation only is by Christ, we do not exclude all other things. For then how could we say that faith were necessary? We exclude therefore not those means whereby the benefits of Christ are applied to us; but all other *persons*, for working any thing for our redemption.

"II. To the second point: We are said to deny the foundation directly, when plainly and expressly we deny that Christ only doth save. By *consequence we deny the foundation*, when any such thing is defended, whereby it may be *inferred* that Christ doth not only save.

"III. To the third: The elect of God cannot so err that they should deny directly the foundation: for that Christ doth keep them from that extremity: And there is no salvation to such as deny the foundation directly. Therefore it is said, that *they* shall worship the beast, whose names are not found in the book of life. Antichrist may prevail much against them [viz. the elect] and they may receive the sign of the beast in the same degree; but not so that they should directly deny the foundation.

"IV. To

" IV. To the fourth: Albeit the Galatians fell into error, but not so that they lost salvation. If they had died before they had known the doctrine of Paul, being before deceived by those that they thought did teach the truth; what do you think? should they have been damned? This we are taught that such errors [as are damning] shall not take hold, but on those that love not the truth. The Galatians had embraced the truth; and for it had suffered many things, &c. There came among them seducers that required circumcision. They being moved with a religious fear, thought it to be the word of God, that they should be circumcised. The best of them might be brought into that opinion; and dying before they could be otherwise instructed, they may not for that be excluded from salvation. Circumcision being joined with Christ doth only by consequence overthrow the foundation. To hold the foundation by an additament is not to deny the foundation, unless the additament be a privative. He is a just man, therefore a man: but this followeth not; he is a dead man, therefore he is a man. In the 15th chapter of the Acts they are called *Credentes* [i. e. such as believed] that taught the necessity of circumcision. That name could not have been given unto them, if directly they had denied the foundation. That which the Apostle doth urge against the Galatians, in respect of circumcision, may be urged against the Lutherans in respect of their consubstantiation. So neither did the Galatians directly deny it.

" V. Lastly: Whether doth the church of Rome directly deny the foundation, by joining Christ and works? There is a difference between the Papists and the Galatians; for circumcision, which the Galatians joined with Christ, was forbidden and taken away by Christ. But works are com-

manded, which the church of Rome doth join with Christ. So that there is greater repugnancy to join circumcision with Christ, than to join works with him. But let them be equal. As the Galatians only by consequent denied the foundation, so do the Papists. Zanchy, Calvin, Mornay: I need not go so far as some of these: But this I think, if the Pope or any of the Cardinals, should forsake all other their corruptions and yield up their souls, holding the foundation again but by a slender thread, and did but as it were touch the hem of Christ's garment, believing that which the church of Rome doth in this point of doctrine, they may obtain mercy. For they have to deal with God, who is no captious sophister, and will not examine them in quiddities, but accept them if they plainly hold the foundation."

"This error is my only comfort as touching the salvation of our fathers. I follow Mr. Martyr. I know *Ignorantia non excusat in toto*, but *in tanto*. It maketh not a fault to be no fault, but that which is a fault to be a less one."

At length, thus did the Archbishop of Canterbury discreetly and warily correct and moderate these articles between them both.

"I. Papists living and dying Papists may notwithstanding be saved. The reason; ignorance excused them. As the Apostle alledgeth, 1 Tim. 1. 13. *I obtained mercy because I did it ignorantly.*"

The Archbishop's judgment.

"Not *Papists*, but *our fathers*. Nor they *all*, but *many of them*. Nor *living and dying Papists*, but living in Popish superstitions. Nor simply *might*, but *might by the mercy of God*, be saved. Ignorance did not excuse the fault to make it no fault:

fault: but the less their fault was, in respect of ignorance, the more hope we have, that God was merciful to them."

"II. Papists hold the foundation of faith, so that they may be saved, notwithstanding their opinion of merit."

Archbishop. "And Papists overthrow the foundation of faith, both by their doctrine of merit, and otherwise, many ways. So that if they have, as their errors deserve, I do not see how they should be saved."

"III. General repentance may serve to their salvation, though they confess not their error of merit."

Archbishop. "General repentance will not serve any but the faithful man. Nor him for any sin, but for such sins only as he doth not mark, nor know to be sin."

"IV. The church of Rome is within the new covenant."

Archbishop. "The church of Rome is not as the assemblies of Turks, Jews and Paiuims."

"V. The Galatians, joining the law with Christ, might have been saved, before they received the Epistle."

Archbishop. "Of the Galatians, before they were told of their error, what letteth us to think, as of our fathers, before the church of Rome was admonished of her defection from the truth?]"

And this may also be worthy of noting, That these exceptions of Mr. Travers against Mr. Hooker, proved to be *Felix error*, for they were the cause of his transcribing those few of his sermons, which we now see printed with his books, and of his answer to Mr. Travers's Supplication, and, of his most learned and useful discourse of justification of faith and works; and by their transcription they fell into such

such hands as have preserved them from being lost, as too many of his other matchless writings were; and from these I have gathered many observations in this discourse of his life.

After the publication of his answer to the petition of Mr. Travers, Mr. Hooker grew daily into greater repute with the most learned and wise of the nation; but it had a contrary effect in very many of the Temple that were zealous for Mr. Travers and for his church discipline: insomuch, that though Mr. Travers left the place, yet the seeds of discontent could not be rooted out of that society, by the great reason, and as great meekness of this humble man: for though the chief benchers gave him much reverence and encouragement, yet he there met with many neglects and oppositions by those of Master Travers judgment; insomuch, that it turned to his extreme grief: and, that he might unbeguile and win them, he designed to write a deliberate sober treatise of the church's power to make canons for the use of ceremonies, and by law to impose an obedience to them, as upon her children; and this he proposed to do in eight books of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity; intending therein to shew such arguments as should force an assent from all men, if reason, delivered in sweet language, and void of any provocation, were able to do it. And that he might prevent all prejudice, he wrote before it a large preface or epistle to the dissenting brethren, wherein there were such bowels of love, and such a commixture of that love with reason, as was never exceeded but in holy writ, and particularly by that of St. Paul to his dear brother and fellow-labourer, Philemon: than which, none ever was more like this epistle of Mr. Hooker's; so that his dear friend and companion in his studies, Doctor Spenser, might after his death justly say, "What admirable height of

of learning and depth of judgment dwelt in the lowly mind of this truly humble man, great in all wise men's eyes except his own; with what gravity and majesty of speech his tongue and pen uttered heavenly mysteries; whose eyes in the humility of his heart were always cast down to the ground; how all things that proceeded from him were breathed as from the spirit of love, as if he, like the bird of the Holy Ghost, the dove, had wanted gall; let those that knew him not in his person judge by these living images of his soul, his writings."

The foundation of these books was laid in the Temple; but he found it no fit place to finish what he had there designed, and he therefore earnestly solicited the Archbishop for a remove from that place, to whom he spake to this purpose.

"My Lord, When I lost the freedom of my cell, which was my College, yet I found some degree of it in my quiet country parsonage: but I am weary of the noise and oppositions of this place; and indeed, God and Nature did not intend me for contentions, but for study and quietness. My Lord, my particular contests with Mr. Travers here have proved the more unpleasant to me, because I believe him to be a good man; and that belief hath occasioned me to examine mine own conscience concerning his opinions; and, to satisfy that, I have consulted the Scripture and other laws both human and divine, whether the conscience of him and others of his judgment ought to be so far complied with as to alter our frame of church government, our manner of God's worship, our praising and praying to him, and our established ceremonies as often as his and others tender consciences shall require us; and in this examination I have not only satisfied myself, but have begun a treatise, in which I intend a Justification of the Laws of our Ecclesiastical

siastical Polity: in which design God and his holy angels shall at the last great day bear me that witness which my conscience now does, that my meaning is not to provoke any, but rather to satisfy all tender consciences, and I shall never be able to do this, but where I may study, and pray for God's blessing upon my endeavours, and keep myself in peace and privacy, and behold God's blessing spring out of my mother earth, and eat my own bread without oppositions; and therefore, if your Grace can judge me worthy of such a favour, let me beg it, that I may perfect what I have begun."

About this time the parsonage or rectory of Boscum, in the diocese of Sarum, and six miles from that city, became void. The Bishop of Sarum is patron of it; but in the vacancy of that see (which was three years betwixt the translation of Bishop Pierce to the see of York, and Bishop Caldwell's admission into it) the disposal of that and all benefices belonging to that see, during this said vacancy, came to be disposed of by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and he presented Richard Hooker to it in the year 1591. And Richard Hooker was also in the said year instituted, July 17, to be a minor Prebend of Salisbury, the corps to it being Nether-Havin, about ten miles from that city; which prebend was of no great value, but intended chiefly to make him capable of a better preferment in that church. In this Boscum he continued till he had finished four of his eight proposed books of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, and these were entered into the register book in Stationers' Hall the 9th of March, 1592, but not published till the year 1594, and then were with the before-mentioned large and affectionate preface, which he directs "to them that seek (as they term

term it) the Reformation of the Laws and Orders Ecclesiastical in the Church of England;" of which books I shall yet say nothing more, but that he continued his laborious diligence to finish the remaining four during his life (of all which more properly hereafter) but at Boscum he finished and published but only the first four, being then in the 39th year of his age.

He left Boscum in the year 1595 by a surrender of it into the hands of Bishop Caldwell, and he presented Benjamin Russel, who was instituted into it the 23d of June in the same year.

The parsonage of Bishop's Borne in Kent, three miles from Canterbury, is in that Archbishop's gift; but in the latter end of the year 1594, Doctor William Redman, the Rector of it, was made Bishop of Norwich, by which means the power of presenting to it was *pro ea vice* in the Queen, and she presented Richard Hooker, whom she loved well, to this good living of Borne the 7th of July, 1595, in which living he continued till his death, without any addition [6] of dignity or profit.

And now having brought our Richard Hooker from his birth-place to this, where he found a grave, I shall only give some account of his books, and of his behaviour in this parsonage of Borne, and then give a rest both to myself and my reader.

His first four books and large epistle have been declared to be printed at his being at Boscum, anno 1594. Next I am to tell that at the end of these four books there was, when he first printed them,

[6] *Without any addition.*] "It is a vulgar error, which the Author of his Life hath also taken up, that he was but meanly preferred. For to my certain knowledge, at the time when he wrote his celebrated books of Ecclesiastical Polity, he had very great preferments, of which he died possessed." *Defence of Pluralities*, (H. Wharton's), p. 192. Edit. 2d.

this

this Advertisement to the Reader:—"I have for some causes thought it at this time more fit to let go these first four books by themselves, than to stay both them and the rest till the whole might together be published. Such generalities of the cause in question as are here handled, it will be perhaps not amiss to consider apart, by way of introduction unto the books that are to follow concerning particulars; in the mean-time the reader is requested to mend the printer's errors, as noted underneath.]'.

And I am next to declare, that his fifth book (which is larger than his first four) was first also printed by itself anno 1597, and dedicated to his patron (for till then he chose none) the Archbishop. These books were read with an admiration of their excellency in this, and their just fame spread itself also into foreign nations. And I have been told more than forty years past, that either Cardinal Allen, or learned Doctor Stapleton, (both Englishmen, and in Italy about the time when Hooker's four books were first printed,) meeting with this general fame of them, were desirous to read an author that both the Reformed and the learned of their own Romish Church did so much magnify, and therefore caused them to be sent for to Rome; and after reading them, boasted to the Pope (which then was Clement the Eighth) "that though he had lately said he had never met with an English book whose writer deserved the name of author, yet there now appeared a wonder to them, and it would be so to his Holiness' if it were in Latin; for a poor obscure English priest had writ four such books of Laws, and Church Polity, and in a style that expressed such a grave and so humble a majesty, with such clear demonstration of reason, that in all their readings they had not met with any that exceeded him:" and this begot

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in the Pope an earnest desire that Doctor Stapleton should bring the said four books, and looking on the English, read a part of them to him in Latin, which Doctor Stapleton did to the end of the first book; at the conclusion of which the Pope spake to this purpose: "There is no learning that this man hath not searched into; nothing too hard for his understanding: this man indeed deserves the name of an author: his books will get reverence by age, for there are in them such seeds of eternity, that if the rest be like this, they shall last till the last fire shall consume all learning."

Nor was this high, the only testimony and commendations given to his books: for at the first coming of King James into this kingdom he enquired of the Archbishop Whitgift for his friend Mr. Hooker that writ the books of Church Polity; to which the answer was, that he died a year before Queen Elizabeth, who received the sad news of his death with very much sorrow; to which the King replied, "and I receive it with no less, that I shall want the desired happiness of seeing and discoursing with that man, from whose books I have received such satisfaction. Indeed, my Lord, I have received more satisfaction in reading a leaf or paragraph in Mr. Hooker, though it were but about the fashion of churches, or church music, or the like, but especially of the Sacraments, than I have had in the reading particular large treatises written but of one of those subjects by others, though very learned men: and I observe there is in Mr. Hooker no affected language, but a grave, comprehensive, clear manifestation of reason, and that backed with the authority of the Scripture, the fathers and schoolmen, and with all law both sacred and civil. And though many others write well, yet in the next age they will be forgotten; but doubtless there is in every

every page of Mr. Hooker's book the picture of a divine soul, such pictures of truth and reason, and drawn in so sacred colours, that they shall never fade, but give an immortal memory to the author." And it is so truly true that the King thought what he spake, that as the most learned of the nation have and still do mention Mr. Hooker with reverence, so he also did never mention him but with the epithet of *Learned*, or *Judicious*, or *Reverend*, or *Venerable* Mr. Hooker.

Nor did his son, our late King Charles the First, ever mention him but with the same reverence, enjoining his son, our now gracious King, to be studious in Mr. Hooker's books. And our learned antiquary Mr. Cambden * mentioning the death, the modesty, and other virtues of Mr. Hooker, and magnifying his books, wished, "that for the honour of this, and benefit of other nations, they were turned into the universal language." Which work, though undertaken by many, yet they have been weary and forsaken it; but the reader may now expect it, having been long since begun, and lately finished, by the happy pen of Dr. Earl, now Lord Bishop of Salisbury, of whom I may justly say (and let it not offend him, because it is such a truth as ought not to be concealed from posterity, or those that now live and yet know him not) that since Mr. Hooker died, none hath lived whom God hath blessed with more innocent wisdom, more sanctified learning, or a more pious, peaceable, primitive temper; so that this excellent person seems to be only like himself and our venerable Richard Hooker, and only fit to make the learned of all nations happy in knowing what hath been too long confined to the language of our little island.

* In his Annals, 1599.

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There might be many more and just occasions taken to speak of his books, which none ever did, or can commend [7] too much, but I decline them, and

[7] *Or can commend.*] Hooker may justly be regarded as the genuine lineal descendant of the most enlightened English Reformers; and possessing learning equal to that of any of them, with more opportunities for meditation, and the accumulated advantage of their labours and experience, he may, perhaps not improperly, be considered as exhibiting in his writings a model of the true, settled, most improved, mature, and catholic principles of the English Reformation. But these virtues did not screen him from having many adversaries. At the time when Hooker wrote, Calvinism, *doctrinal* as well as *disciplinarian*, had made considerable progress in England; and Hooker's, unhappily for his own peace of mind, were almost the only works of great extent which were calculated to arrest the progress of the doctrinal Calvinists. In the year 1599 a tract was published in 4to. entitled, *A Christian Letter of certaine English Protestants, unfaigned favourers of the present state of Religion, authorised and professed in England, unto that reverend and learned man, Mr. R. Hooker, requiring resolution in certaine matters of doctrine, (which seeme to overthrow the foundation of Christian religion, and of the Church among us) expresslie contained in his five books of Ecclesiasticall Pollicie.* This book is one of the earliest productions of those mal-contents, who were afterwards called *doctrinal Puritans*. It is the *doctrines* of Hooker with which they quarrel: and they profess (in contradistinction to the abettors of the Geneva *Discipline*) an unfeigned attachment to the external establishments of the Church of England. The work is further deserving of notice, as exhibiting, I believe, the earliest example, both in the matter and manner of the argument, of those numerous publications in which some Calvinistic writers have thoughtlessly and intemperately indulged themselves, from the days of this Christian Letter, and from Prynne and Hickman downwards, to Edwards, and Toplady, and Bowman, and Sir Richard Hill, and Overton.—Can it be believed, the Authors of the Letter in question tax the meek, the wise, the virtuous, the saint-like Richard Hooker with betraying and renouncing the doctrines to which he had solemnly subscribed? They charge him with designs of bringing back Popery. They accuse him of a wanton attack on the memory of Calvin. They condemn him of unsoundness of doctrine respecting Grace, and Free-Will, and Justification, and Predestination, and the *conditions*

and hasten to an account of his Christian behaviour and death at Borne; in which place he continued his customary rules of mortification and self-denial; was much in fasting, frequent in meditation

conditions of the Christian Covenant, and the Sacraments of the Christian Church. It is curious to see the Thirty-nine Articles, the Liturgy, the Homilies, Bishop Jewel's Apology, Dean Nowell's Catechism, and the writings of many others of Hooker's Protestant predecessors, solemnly cited against him, and confronted in due form with extracts from the Ecclesastical Polity, for the purpose of convicting him of deserting and denying the principles of that Church of which he was a Minister, in whose cause he toiled day and night, and in the defence of which, I believe, it may truly be said, that it was God's good pleasure that he should die. The following extracts may serve as specimens of this performance.

"The Reverend Fathers of our Church call Mr. Calvin one of the best writers, &c. (J. Whitgift. p. 300. Bp. Jewel, Defence of Apolog. 2 part. p. 149. Read any English Writer defending the Church of England; and namely Fulke against Stapleton's Fortress, p. 71. Read Apolog. Anglican.) Howe greatlie all Christian Churches are to prayse God for that man's faithfull labours, and how instantlie therefore all sortes of Papistes have and doe indevour and strive to diminish his credit, all the Christian world most aboundlie both by word and by writing do testifie. *Wherefore we wonder not a little, what moved you to make choyse of that worthie pillar of the Church above all other, to traduce him, and to make him a spectacle before all Christians.*" P. 37.

By the way, some may think it strange, and yet it is very true, that this same character of Calvin, which is here referred to, and thus accounted of, has in the present day been more than once appealed to, as a proof of the high esteem in which Calvin was regarded by Richard Hooker; and, what shall we say? why, perhaps, as *a proof that* the Articles of the Church of England are Calvinistical. *Ex quovis ligno fit*, &c. Again. "In all your books—Reason is highlie sett up against Holie Scripture, and reading against preaching: the Church of Rome favourablie admitted to be of the house of God: Calvin with the Reformed Churches full of faults; and most of all they which indevoured to be most reformed from conformitie with the Church of Rome: almost all the principall pointes of our English Creede greatlie shaken and contradicted. If you do not

tation and prayer, enjoying those blessed returns which only men of strict lives feel and know, and of which men of loose and godless lives cannot be made sensible; for spiritual things are spiritually discerned.

At his entrance into this place his friendship was much sought for by Dr. Hadrian Saravia, then or about that time made one of the Prebends of Canterbury; a German by birth, and some times a pastor both in Flanders and Holland, where he had studied and well considered the controverted points concerning episcopacy and sacrilege; and in England

not sincerelie, plainlie, and truelie answere all these our necessarie doubtes and demandes, what shall we have cause to thinke of these your tedious and laborious writings? Shall we doe you wronge to suspect you as a privie and subtill enemie to the whole state of the English Church, and that would have men to deeme her Majestie to have done ill in abolishing the Romish religion, and banishing the Pope's authoritie?—Will *you bring us to Atheisme, or to Poperie?*" P. 43. "We beseech you therefore in the name of Jesus Christ, and as you will answere for the use of those great giftes which God hath bestowed upon you, that you would returne and peruse advisedlie all your five bookes, compare them with the Articles of our profession sett out by publick authoritie, and with the workes apologeticall, and other authorised Sermons and Homilies of our church, and of the Reverend Fathers of our land, and with the holie booke of God, and all other the Queenes Majesties proceedings." P. 44. "All the Articles of our Religion, and many partes of our Church Government checked, blamed, and contradicted." P. 45. "Thirdly that you would be careful not to corrupt the English creede and pure doctrine, *whereunto you have subscribed*, either by philosophie &c." P. 47. The Church of England beleeveth, that *Predestination unto life is the eternal purpose* &c. But you Maister Hooker seem to us to affirme contrarie, when you saie, *It unie man doubt* &c." P. 15. "You make it (the Sacrament) a meanes *conditionall*, and no lesse required than faith itself.—And herein we are suitors unto you to tell us, whether the *condition* of Sacramente make not for the additament of *works* unto *faith*, in that which the English Church holdeth to be onelie and properlie of *faith*." P. 28.

had

had a just occasion to declare his judgment concerning both unto his brethren ministers of the Low Countries, which was excepted against by Theodore Beza and others, against whose exceptions he rejoined, and thereby became the happy author of many learned tracts, writ in Latin, especially of three; one, of the *Degrees of Ministers*, and *of the Bishops superiority above the Presbytery;* a second against *Sacrilege;* and a third, of *Christian Obedience to Princes;* the last being occasioned by Gretzerus the Jesuit. And it is observable, that when in a time of church tumults, Beza gave his reasons to the Chancellor of Scotland for the abrogation of Episcopacy in that nation, partly by letters, and more fully in a treatise of a three-fold Episcopacy (which he calls divine, human, and satanical) this Dr. Saravia had, by the help of Bishop Whitgift made such an early discovery of their intentions, that he had almost as soon answered that treatise as it became public, and he therein discovered how Beza's opinion did contradict that of Calvin and his adherents, leaving them to interfere with themselves in point of Episcopacy: but of these tracts it will not concern me to say more, than that they were most of them dedicated to his and the Church of England's watchful patron, John Whitgift, the Archbishop, and printed about the time in which Mr. Hooker also appeared first to the world in the publication of his first four books of Ecclesiastical Polity.

This friendship being sought for by this learned Doctor, you may believe was not denied by Mr. Hooker, who was by fortune so like him as to be engaged against Mr. Travers, Mr. Cartwright, and others of their judgment, in a controversy too like Dr. Saravia's; so that in this year of 1595, and in this place of Borne, these two excellent persons began

began a holy friendship, increasing daily to so high and mutual affections, that their two wills seemed to be but one and the same; and their designs, both for the glory of God and peace of the Church, still assisting and improving each other's virtues, and the desired comforts of a peaceable piety. Which I have willingly mentioned, because it gives a foundation to some things that follow.

This parsonage of Borne is from Canterbury three miles, and near to the common road that leads from that city to Dover; in which parsonage Mr. Hooker had not been twelve months, but his books and the innocency and sanctity of his life became so remarkable, that many turned out of the road, and others (scholars especially) went purposely to see the man, whose life and learning were so much admired; and alas, as our Saviour said of St. John Baptist, *What went they out to see? a man cloathed in purple and fine linen?* no indeed, but an obscure, harmless man, a man in poor cloaths, his loins usually girt in a coarse gown, or canonical coat; of a mean stature, and stooping; and yet more lowly in the thoughts of his soul; his body worn out, not with age, but study and holy mortifications; his face full of heat-pimples, begot by his inactivity and sedentary life. And to this true character of his person let me add this of his disposition and behaviour: God and nature blessed him with so blessed a bashfulness, that as in his younger days his pupils might easily look him out of countenance; so neither then, nor in his age, did he ever willingly look any man in the face; and was of so mild and humble a nature, that his poor parish clerk and he did never talk but with both their hats on, or both off, at the same time: And to this may be added, that though he was not purblind, yet he was short or weak-sighted; and

where he fixed his eyes at the beginning of his sermon, there they continued till it was ended: and the reader has the liberty to believe, that his modesty and dim sight were some of the reasons why he trusted Mrs. Churchman to chuse his wife.

This parish clerk lived till the third or fourth year of the late Long Parliament; betwixt which time and Mr. Hooker's death there had come many to see the place of his burial, and the monument dedicated to his memory by Sir William Cooper (who still lives), and the poor clerk had many rewards for shewing Mr. Hooker's grave-place, and his said monument, and did always hear Mr. Hooker mentioned with commendations and reverence: to all which he added his own knowledge and observations of his humility and holiness; and in all which discourses the poor man was still more confirmed in his opinion of Mr. Hooker's virtues and learning; but it so fell out, that about the said third or fourth year of the Long Parliament the then present parson of Borne was sequestered (you may guess why) and a Genevian Minister put into his good living: this, and other like sequestrations, made the clerk express himself in a wonder, and say, "They had sequestered so many good men, that he doubted if his good master Mr. Hooker had lived till now they would have sequestered him too."

It was not long before this intruding minister had made a party in and about the said parish, that were desirous to receive the Sacrament as in Geneva, to which end the day was appointed for a select company, and forms and stools set about the altar or communion-table, for them to sit and eat and drink; but when they went about this work there was a want of some joint-stools, which the minister sent the clerk to fetch, and then to fetch cushions (but not to kneel upon). When the clerk

saw them begin to sit down, he began to wonder; but the minister bad him "cease wondering, and lock the church-door;" to whom he replied, "Pray take you the keys, and lock me out: I will never come more into this church; for all men will say my master Hooker was a good man and a good scholar, and I am sure it was not used to be thus in his days." And, report says, the old man went presently home and died: I do not say died immediately, but within a few days after.

But let us leave this grateful clerk in his quiet grave, and return to Mr. Hooker himself, continuing our observations of his Christian behaviour in this place, where he gave a holy valediction to all the pleasures and allurements of earth, possessing his soul in a virtuous quietness, which he maintained by constant study, prayers, and meditations. His use was to preach once every Sunday, and he or his curate to catechise after the second lesson in the evening prayer; his sermons were neither long nor earnest, but uttered with a grave zeal, and an humble voice; his eyes always fixed on one place to prevent his imagination from wandering, insomuch that he seemed to study as he spake. The design of his sermons (as indeed of all his discourses) was to shew reasons for what he spake; and with these reasons, such a kind of rhetoric as did rather convince and persuade than frighten men into piety; studying not so much for matter (which he never wanted) as for apt illustrations to inform and teach his unlearned hearers by familiar examples, and then make them better by convincing applications; never labouring by hard words, and then by needless distinctions and sub-distinctions, to amuse his hearers, and get glory to himself, but glory only to God. Which intention, he would often say, was

as discernible in a preacher as a natural from an an artificial beauty.

He never failed the Sunday before every Ember-week to give notice of it to his parishioners, persuading them both to fast, and then to double their devotions for a learned and pious clergy; but especially the last, saying often, "That the life of a pious clergyman was visible rhetoric, and so convincing, that the most godless men (though they would not deny themselves the enjoyment of their present lusts) did yet secretly wish themselves like those of the strictest lives." And to what he persuaded others he added his own example of fasting and prayer; and did usually every Ember-week take from the parish clerk the key of the church-door, into which place he retired every day, and locked himself up for many hours; and did the like most Fridays and other days of fasting.

He would by no means omit the customary time of *procession*, persuading all, both rich and poor, if they desired the preservation of love and their parish rights and liberties, to accompany him in his perambulation, and most did so; in which perambulation he would usually express more pleasant discourse than at other times, and would then always drop some loving and facetious observations to be remembered against the next year, especially by the boys and young people; still inclining them and all his present parishioners to meekness, and mutual kindnesses, and love; because *love thinks not evil, but covers a multitude of infirmities.*

He was diligent to enquire who of his parish were sick, or any ways distressed, and would often visit them, unsent for; supposing that the fittest time to discover to them those errors to which health and prosperity had blinded them; and having by pious reasons

reasons and prayers moulded them into holy resolutions for the time to come, he would incline them to confession, and bewailing their sins, with purpose to forsake them, and then to receive the communion, both as a strengthening of those holy resolutions, and as a seal betwixt God and them of his mercies to their souls, in case that present sickness did put a period to their lives.

And as he was thus watchful and charitable to the sick, so he was as diligent to prevent law-suits, still urging his parishioners and neighbours to bear with each other's infirmities, and live in love, because (as St. John says) *he that lives in love, lives in God, for God is love.* And to maintain this holy fire of love constantly burning on the altar of a pure heart, his advice was to watch and pray, and always keep themselves fit to receive the communion, and then to receive it often, for it was both a confirming and strengthening of their graces; this was his advice. And at his entrance or departure out of any house he would usually speak to the whole family, and bless them by name; insomuch that as he seemed in his youth to be taught of God, so he seemed in this place to teach his precepts, as Enoch did, by walking with him in all holiness and humility, making each day a step towards a blessed eternity. And though in this weak and declining age of the world such examples are become barren, and almost incredible, yet let his memory be blessed with this true recordation, because he that praises Richard Hooker praises God, who hath given such gifts to men; and let this humble and affectionate relation of him become such a pattern as may invite posterity to imitate these his virtues.

This was his constant behaviour both at Borne and in all places in which he lived: thus did he walk with God, and tread the footsteps of primitive

tive piety; and yet as that great example of meekness and purity, even our blessed Jesus, was not free from false accusations, no more was this disciple of his, this most humble, most innocent, holy man. His was a slander parallel to that of chaste Susannah's by the wicked elders, or that against St. Athanasius, as it is recorded in his life, (for that holy man had his heretical enemies) a slander which this age calls trepanning; the particulars need not a repetition; and that it was false needs no other testimony than the public punishment of his accusers, and their open confession of his innocency. It was said that the accusation was contrived by a dissenting brother, one that endured not church ceremonies, hating him for his book's sake, which he was not able to answer; and his name hath been told me, but I have not so much confidence in the relation as to make my pen fix a scandal upon him to posterity; I shall rather leave it doubtful till the great day of revelation. But this is certain, that he lay under the great charge, and the anxiety of this accusation, and kept it secret to himself for many months; and being a helpless man, had lain longer under this heavy burthen, but that the protector of the innocent gave such an accidental occasion as forced him to make it known to his two dearest friends, Edwin Sandys and George Cranmer, who were so sensible of their tutor's sufferings, that they gave themselves no rest till by their disquisitions and diligence they had found out the fraud, and brought him the welcome news, that his accusers did confess they had wronged him, and begged his pardon: To which the good man's reply was to this purpose, "The Lord forgive them, and the Lord bless you for this comfortable news: Now I have a just occasion to say with Solomon, *Friends are born for the days of adversity*, and such you have

have proved to me; and to my God I say, as did the mother of St. John Baptist, *Thus hath the Lord dealt with me in the day wherein he looked upon me, to take away my reproach among men.* And, oh my God! neither my life nor my reputation are safe in mine own keeping, but in thine, who didst take care of me when I yet hanged upon my mother's breast. Blessed are they that put their trust in thee, O Lord; for when false witnesses were risen up against me, when shame was ready to cover my face, when my nights were restless, when my soul thirsted for a deliverance, as the hart panteth after the rivers of waters, then thou, Lord, didst hear my complaints, pity my condition, and art now become my deliverer; and as long as I live I will hold up my hands in this manner, and magnify thy mercies, who didst not give me over as a prey to mine enemies; the net is broken, and they are taken in it. Oh blessed are they that put their trust in thee: and no prosperity shall make me forget those days of sorrow, or to perform those vows that I have made to thee in the days of my affliction; for with such sacrifices thou, O God, art well pleased, and I will pay them."

Thus did the joy and gratitude of this good man's heart break forth. And it is observable, that as the invitation to this slander was his meek behaviour and dove-like simplicity, for which he was remarkable, so his Christian charity ought to be imitated: for though the spirit of revenge is so pleasing to mankind, that it is never conquered but by a supernatural grace, revenge being indeed so deeply rooted in human nature, that to prevent the excesses of it (for men would not know moderation) Almighty God allows not any degree of it to any man, but says, *Vengeance is mine:* And though this be said positively by God himself, yet this revenge is so

pleasing,

pleasing, that man is hardly persuaded to submit the manage of it to the time, and justice, and wisdom of his Creator, but would hasten to be his own executioner of it: And yet nevertheless, if any man ever did wholly decline, and leave this pleasing passion to the time and measure of God alone, it was this Richard Hooker of whom I write; for when his slanderers were to suffer, he laboured to procure their pardon; and when that was denied him, his reply was, "That however he would fast and pray that God would give them repentance, and patience to undergo their punishment." And his prayers were so far returned into his own bosom, that the first was granted, if we may believe a penitent behaviour and an open confession. And it is observable, that after this time he would often say to Doctor Saravia, "Oh with what quietness did I enjoy my soul after I was free from the fears of my slander! and how much more after a conflict and victory over my desires of revenge!"

About the year 1600, and of his age 46, he fell into a long and sharp sickness, occasioned by a cold taken in his passage by water betwixt London and Gravesend; from the malignity of which he was never recovered: for, after that time till his death he was not free from thoughtful days, and restless nights; but a submission to his will that makes the sick man's bed easy by giving rest to his soul, made his very languishment comfortable; and yet all this time he was solicitous in his study, and said often to Dr. Saravia (who saw him daily, and was the chief comfort of his life) "That he did not beg a long life of God, for any other reason, but to live to finish his three remaining books of polity; and then, Lord, let thy servant depart in peace," which was his usual expression. And God heard his prayers, though he denied the church the benefit

of

of them, as compleated by himself; and it is thought that he hastened his own death, by hastening to give life to his books: but this is certain, that the nearer he was to his death, the more he grew in humility, in holy thoughts and resolutions.

About a month before his death, this good man, that never knew, or at least never considered, the pleasures of the palate, became first to lose his appetite, and then, to have an aversness to all food; insomuch, that he seemed to live some intermitted weeks by the smell of meat only, and yet still studied and writ. And now his guardian angel seemed to fortell him, that the day of his dissolution drew near; for which, his vigorous soul appeared to thirst. In this time of his sickness, and not many days before his death, his house was robbed; of which he having notice, his question was, "Are my books and written papers safe?" and being answered, "That they were;" his reply was, "then it matters not; for no other loss can trouble me."

About one day before his death, Dr. Saravia, who knew the very secrets of his soul, (for they were supposed to be confessors to each other) came to him, and after a conference of the benefit, the necessity, and safety of the Church's absolution, it was resolved that the Doctor should give him both that and the sacrament the day following. To which end, the Doctor came, and after a short retirement and privacy, they two returned to the company, and then the Doctor gave him, and some of those friends which were with him, the blessed Sacrament of the body and blood of our Jesus. Which being performed, the Doctor thought he saw a reverend gaiety and joy in his face; but it lasted not long: for, his bodily infirmities did return suddenly, and became

became more visible, insomuch that the Doctor apprehended death ready to seize him; yet, after some amendment, left him at night, with a promise to return early the day following; which he did, and then found him better in appearance, deep in contemplation, and not inclinable to discourse; which gave the Doctor occasion to require his present thoughts? to which he replied, "That he was meditating the number and nature of angels, and their blessed obedience and order, without which, peace could not be in heaven; and oh that it might be so on earth!" after which words he said, "I have lived to see this world is made up of perturbations, and I have been long preparing to leave it, and gathering comfort for the dreadful hour of making my account with God, which I now apprehend to be near; and, though I have by his grace loved him in my youth, and feared him in mine age, and laboured to have a conscience void of offence to him, and to all men; yet, if thou, O Lord, be extreme to mark what I have done amiss, who can abide it? and therefore, where I have failed, Lord show mercy unto me, for I plead not my righteousness, but the forgiveness of my unrighteousness, for his merits who died to purchase pardon for penitent sinners; and since I owe thee a death, Lord let it not be terrible, and then take thine own time, I submit to it; let not mine, O Lord, but let thy will be done;" with which expression he fell into a dangerous slumber; dangerous, as to his recovery; yet recover he did, but it was to speak only these few words, "Good Doctor, God hath heard my daily petitions, for I am at peace with all men, and he is at peace with me; and from that blessed assurance I feel that inward joy, which this world can neither give nor take from me: my conscience beareth me this witness, and this

this witness, makes the thoughts of death joyful. I could wish to live to do the Church more service, but cannot hope it, for my days are past as a shadow that returns not." More he would have spoken, but his spirits failed him; and, after a short conflict betwixt nature and death, a quiet sigh put a period to his last breath, and so he fell asleep. And now he seems to rest like Lazarus in Abraham's bosom; let me here draw his curtain, till with the most glorious company of the Patriarchs and Apostles, and the most noble army of Martyrs and Confessors, this most learned, most humble, holy man, shall also awake to receive an eternal tranquillity: and with it, a greater degree of glory than common christians shall be made partakers of.

In the mean time, bless O Lord! Lord bless his brethren, the clergy of this nation, with effectual endeavours to attain, if not to his great learning, yet to his remarkable meekness, his godly simplicity, and his christian moderation; for, these will bring peace at the last: and, Lord! let his most excellent writings be blest with what he designed, when he undertook them: which was, glory to thee O God on high, peace in thy Church, and good will to mankind. Amen, Amen.

IZAAC WALTON.

This following EPITAPH *was long since presented to the World, in Memory of Mr.* HOOKER, *by Sir* WILLIAM COOPER, *who also built him a fair Monument in Borne Church, and acknowledges him to have been his spiritual Father.*

THOUGH nothing can be spoke worthy his fame,
Or the remembrance of that precious name,
Judicious Hooker; though this cost be spent
On him that hath a lasting monument
In his own books, yet ought we to express,
If not his worth, yet our respectfulness.
Church ceremonies he maintain'd, then why
Without all ceremony should he die?
Was it because his life and death should be
Both equal patterns of humility?
Or that perhaps this only glorious one
Was above all to ask, why had he none?
Yet he that lay so long obscurely low
Doth now preferr'd to greater honours go.
Ambitious men, learn hence to be more wise;
Humility is the true way to rise:
And God in me this lesson did inspire,
To bid this humble man, Friend, sit up higher.

APPENDIX.

AND now having by a long and laborious search satisfied myself, and I hope my reader, by imparting to him the true relation of Mr. Hooker's life; I am desirous also to acquaint him with some observations that relate to it, and which could not properly fall to be spoken till after his death, of which my reader may expect a brief and true account in the following Appendix.

And first it is not to be doubted but that he died in the forty-seventh, if not in the forty-sixth year of his age; which I mention, because many have believed him to be more aged; but I have so examined it as to be confident I mistake not. And for the year of his death, Mr. Cambden, who in his Annals of Queen Elizabeth 1599 mentions him with a high commendation of his life and learning, declares him to die in the year 1599, and yet in that inscription of his monument set up at the charge of Sir William Cooper in Borne Church, where Mr. Hooker was buried, his death is there said to be in anno 1603: but doubtless both mistaken; for I have it attested under the hand of William Somner, the Archbishop's Register for the province of Canterbury, that Richard Hooker's will bears date October 26, in anno 1600, and that it was proved the 3d of December following *.

And

[* And the reader may take notice, that since I first writ this Appendix to the Life of Mr. Hooker, Mr. Fulman, of Corpus Christi College, hath shewed me a good authority for the very day

And that at his death he left four daughters, Alice, Cicely, Jane, and Margaret; that he gave each of them an hundred pounds; that he left Joan his wife his sole executrix; and that by his inventory, his estate (a great part of it being in books) came to 1092l. 9s. 2d. which was much more than he thought himself worth, and which was not got by his care, much less by the good housewifery of his wife, but saved by his trusty servant Thomas Lane, that was wiser than his master in getting money for him, and more frugal than his mistress in keeping of it; of which will [8] of Mr. Hooker's I shall say no more, but that his dear friend Thomas, the father of George Cranmer (of whom I have spoken, and shall have occasion to say more) was one of the witnesses to it.

One of his elder daughters was married to one Chalinor, sometime a schoolmaster in Chichester, and are both dead long since: Margaret his youngest daughter was married unto Ezekiel Chark, Bachelor in Divinity, and Rector of St. Nicholas in Harbledown, near Canterbury, who died about 16 years past, and had a son Ezekiel, now living, and in sacred orders, being at this time Rector of Waldron, in Sussex; she left also a daughter, with both whom I have spoken not many months past, and find her to be a widow in a condition that wants not, but

day and hour of Mr. Hooker's death, in one of his books of Polity, which had been Archbishop Laud's. In which book, besides many considerable marginal notes of some passages of his time, under the Bishop's own hand, there is also written in the title-page of that book (which now is Mr. Fulman's) this attestation:

Richardus Hooker vir summis doctrinæ dotibus ornatus, de Ecclesia præcipuè Anglicana optimè meritus, obiit Novemb. 2. circiter horam secundam postmeridianam. Anno 1600.]

[8] *Of which will.*] A copy of the will is given by Dr. Zouch, p. 247. edit. 2d.

very

very far from abounding; and these two attested unto me, that Richard Hooker their grandfather had a sister, by name Elizabeth Harvey, that lived to the age of 121 years, and died in the month of September, 1663.

For his other two daughters I can learn little certainty, but have heard they both died before they were marriageable; and for his wife, she was so unlike Jeptha's daughter, that she staid not a comely time to bewail her widowhood, nor lived long enough to bewail her second marriage, for which doubtless she would have found cause if there had been but four months betwixt Mr. Hooker's and her death: but she is dead, and let her other infirmities be buried with her.

Thus much briefly for his age, the year of his death, his estate, his wife, and his children. I am next to speak of his books; concerning which I shall have a necessity of being longer, or shall neither do right to myself or my reader, which is chiefly intended in this Appendix.

I have declared in his Life, that he proposed eight books, and that his first four were printed anno 1594, and his fifth book first printed, and alone, anno 1597, and that he lived to finish the remaining three of the proposed eight: but whether we have the last three as finished by himself is a just and material question; concerning which I do declare, that I have been told almost 40 years past, by one that very well knew Mr. Hooker, and the affairs of his family, that about a month after the death of Mr. Hooker, Bishop Whitgift, then Archbishop of Canterbury, sent one of his Chaplains [9] to enquire

[9] *Sent one of his Chaplains.*] In the 8vo. edit. of the Works of Hooker, printed at Oxford, the following letter from Bishop Andrews

enquire of Mrs. Hooker for the three remaining books of Polity, writ by her husband; of which

Andrews to Dr. Parry is inserted from a MS. in the Bodleian Library.

" Salutem in Christo.

" I cannot chuse but write, though you do not. I never failed since I last saw you, but dayly prayed for him till this very instant you sent this heavie news. I have hitherto prayed *Serva nobis hunc;* now must I, *Da nobis alium.* Alas for our greate loss! and when I say *ours*, though I meane yours and myne, yet much more the common: with the losse since they have of so greate a damage, the more sad we neede to bewayle them and ourselves, who know his workes and his worth to be such as behind him he hath not (that I knowe) left anie neere him. And whether I shall live to knowe anie neere him, I am in greate doubt, that I care not how manie and myself had redeemed his longer life to have done good, in a better subject than he had in hand, though that were very good. Good brother, have a care to deal with his executrix or executor, or, him that is like to have a greate stroke in it, his Father-in-lawe, that there be special care and regard for preserving such papers as he left, besides the three last books expected. By *preserving*, I meane, that not only they be not embezzelled, and come to nothing, but that they come not into greate hands, whoe will only have use of them *quatenus et quousque*, and suppresse the rest, or unhappily all: but rather into the hands of some of them that unfeignedly wished him well, though of the meaner sort; who may upon good assurance (very good assurance) be trusted with them; for it is pitie they should admit of any limitation. Doe this, and doe it mature: it had bin more than time long since to have been about it, if I had sooner knowne it. If my word or letter would doe anie good to Mr. Churchman, it should not want. But what cannot yourself or Mr. Sandys doe therein? For Mr. Cranmer is away; happie in that he will gaine a weeke or two before he know of it.

" Almightie God comfort us over him! whose taking away I trust I shall no longer live, than with grief I remember; therefore with grief because with inward and most just honour I ever honoured him since I knew him.

" Your assured

poore loving Friend,

At the Court,
7th Nov. 1600.

L. ANDREWES."

she

she would not, or could not give any account; and that about three months after that time the Bishop procured her to be sent for to London, and then by his procurement she was to be examined, by some of her Majesty's Council, concerning the disposal of those books: but, by way of preparation for the next day's examination, the Bishop invited her to Lambeth, and, after some friendly questions, she confessed to him, "That one Mr. Charke, and another minister that dwelt near Canterbury, came to her, and desired that they might go into her husband's study, and look upon some of his writings; and that there they two burnt and tore many of them, assuring her that they were writings not fit to be seen; and that she knew nothing more concerning them." Her lodging was then in King-street, in Westminster, where she was found next morning dead in her bed, and her new husband suspected and questioned for it; but he was declared innocent of her death.

And I declare also, that Dr. John Spencer (mentioned in the Life of Mr. Hooker) was of Mr. Hooker's College, and of his time there, and betwixt whom there was so friendly a friendship that they continually advised together in all their studies, and particularly in what concerned these books of Polity. This Dr. Spencer, the three perfect books being lost, had delivered into his hands (I think by Bishop Whitgift) the imperfect books, or first rough draughts of them, to be made as perfect as they might be by him, who both knew Mr. Hooker's handwriting, and was best acquainted with his intentions. And a fair testimony of this may appear by an epistle first and usually printed before Mr. Hooker's five books (but omitted, I know not why, in the last impression of the eight printed together in anno 1662, in which the publishers seem to im-

pose the three doubtful books to be the undoubted books of Mr. Hooker) with these two letters J. S. at the end of the said epistle, which was meant for this John Spencer: in which epistle, the reader may find these words, which may give some authority to what I have here written of his last three books.

"And though Mr. Hooker hastened his own death by hastening to give life to his books, yet he held out with his eyes to behold these Benjamins, these sons of his right hand, though to him they proved Benonies, sons of pain and sorrow. But, some evil disposed minds, whether of malice, or covetousness, or wicked blind zeal, it is uncertain, as soon as they were born, and their father dead, smothered them, and, by conveying the perfect copies, left unto us nothing but the old imperfect mangled draughts dismembered into pieces; no favour, no grace, not the shadow of themselves remaining in them. Had the father lived to behold them thus defaced, he might rightly have named them Benonies, the sons of sorrow. But being the learned will not suffer them to die and be buried, it is intended the world shall see them as they are; the learned will find in them some shadows and resemblances of their fathers face. God grant, that as they were with their brethren dedicated to the church for messengers of peace; so, in the strength of that little breath of life that remaineth in them, they may prosper in their work, and by satisfying the doubts of such as are willing to learn, they may help to give an end to the calamities of these our civil wars. J. S."

And next the reader may note, that this epistle of Dr. Spencer's, was writ and first printed within four

four years after the death of Mr. Hooker, in which time all diligent search had been made for the perfect copies; and, then granted not recoverable, and therefore endeavoured to be completed out of Mr. Hooker's rough draughts, as is exprest by the said Dr. Spencer, in the said epistle, since whose death it is now 50 years.

And I do profess by the faith of a christian, that Dr. Spencer's wife (who was my aunt, and sister to George Cranmer, of whom I have spoken) told me forty years since, in these, or in words to this purpose, "That her husband had made up, or finished Mr. Hooker's last three books; and that upon her husband's death-bed, or in his last sickness, he gave them into her hand, with a charge that they should not be seen by any man, but be by her delivered into the hands of the then Archbishop of Canterbury, which was Dr. Abbot, or unto Dr. King, then Bishop of London, and that she did as he enjoined her."

I do conceive, that from Dr. Spencer's and no other copy, there have been divers transcripts, and I know that these were to be found in several places, as namely, Sir Thomas Bodlies library, in that of Dr. Andrews, late Bishop of Winton, in the late Lord Conwayes, in the Archbishop of Canterbury's, and in the Bishop of Armagh's, and in many others: and most of these pretended to be the author's own hand, but much disagreeing, being indeed altered and diminished, as men have thought fittest to make Mr. Hooker's judgment suit with their fancies, or give authority to their corrupt designs; and for a proof of a part of this, take these following testimonies.

Dr. Barnard, sometime chaplain to Dr. Usher, late Lord Archbishop of Armagh, hath declared in a late book called Clavi Trabales, printed by Richard

Hodgkinson, Anno 1661, that in his search and examination of the said Bishop's manuscripts, he found the three written books which were supposed the 6, 7, and 8, of Mr. Hooker's books of Ecclesiastical Polity; and that in the said three books (now printed as Mr. Hooker's) there are so many omissions, that they amount to many paragraphs, and which cause many incoherences: the omissions are by him set down at large in the said printed book, to which I refer the reader for the whole; but think fit in this place to insert this following short part of some of the said omissions.

"First, as there could be in natural bodies no motion of any thing, unless there were some first which moved all things, and continued unmoveable; even so in politic societies, there must be some unpunishable, or else no man shall suffer punishment; for such punishments proceed always from superiors, to whom the administration of justice belongeth, which administration must have necessarily a fountain that deriveth it to all others, and receiveth not from any, because otherwise the course of justice should go infinitely in a circle, every superior having his superior without end, which cannot be; therefore, a well-spring, it followeth, there is, a supreme head of justice whereunto all are subject, but itself in subjection to none. Which kind of preheminency if some ought to have in a kingdom, who but the King shall have it? Kings therefore, or no man can have lawful power to judge.

"If private men offend, there is the magistrate over them which judgeth; if magistrates, they have their prince; if princes, there is heaven, a tribunal, before which they shall appear; on earth they are not accountable to any." Here, says the Doctor, it breaks off abruptly.

And

And I have these words also attested under the hand of Mr. Fabian Philips, a man of note for his useful books. " I will make oath, if I shall be required, that Dr. Sanderson, the late Bishop of Lincoln, did a little before his death, affirm to me, he had seen a manuscript affirmed to him to be the hand-writing of Mr. Richard Hooker, in which there was no mention made of the King or supreme governors being accountable to the people; this I will make oath, that that good man attested to me.

FABIAN PHILIPS."

So that there appears to be both omissions and additions in the said last three printed books; and this may probably be one reason why Dr. Sanderson, the said learned Bishop (whose writings are so highly and justly valued) gave a strict charge near the time of his death, or in his last will, " That nothing of his that was not already printed, should be printed after his death."

It is well known how high a value our learned King James put upon the books writ by Mr. Hooker, and known also that our late King Charles (the martyr for the church) valued them the second of all books, testified by his commending them to the reading of his son Charles, that now is our gracious King; and you may suppose that this Charles the First, was not a stranger to the pretended three books, because in a discourse with the Lord Say, in the time of the long parliament, when the said Lord required the King to grant the truth of his argument, because it was the judgment of Mr. Hooker (quoting him in one of the three written books) the King replied, " They were not allowed to be Mr. Hooker's books, but, however he would allow them to be Mr. Hooker's, and, consent to what his Lordship proposed to prove out of those doubtful books, if he

he would but consent to the judgment of Mr. Hooker in the other five that were the undoubted books of Mr. Hooker."

In this relation concerning these three doubtful books of Mr. Hooker's, my purpose was to enquire, then set down what I observed and know, which I have done, not as an engaged person, but indifferently; and now, leave my reader to give sentence, for their legitimation, as to himself; but so, as to leave others the same liberty of believing or disbelieving them to be Mr. Hooker's; and it is observable, that as Mr. Hooker advised with Dr. Spencer, in the design and manage of these books, so also, and chiefly with his dear pupil George Cranmer (whose sister was the wife of Dr. Spencer) of which this following letter may be a testimony, and doth also give authority to some things mentioned both in this Appendix, and in the Life of Mr. Hooker, and is therefore added. J. W.

George Cranmer's Letter unto Mr. Richard Hooker, Feb. 1598.

"What posterity is likely to judge of these matters concerning church-discipline, we may the better conjecture, if we call to mind what our own age, within few years, upon better experience, hath already judged concerning the same. It may be remembered, that at first the greatest part of the learned in the land, were either eagerly affected, or favourably inclined that way. The books then written for the most part, savoured of the disciplinary stile; it sounded every where in pulpits, and in common phrase of men's speech: the contrary part began to fear they had taken a wrong course, many which impugned the discipline, yet so impugned it, not as not being the better form of government, but as not

not being so convenient for our state, in regard of dangerous innovations thereby like to grow: one man* alone there was, to speak of (whom let no suspicion of flattery deprive of his deserved commendation) who in the defiance of the one part, and courage of the other, stood in the gap, and gave others respite to prepare themselves to the defence, which by the sudden eagerness and violence of their adversaries, had otherwise been prevented, wherein God hath made good unto him his own impress, Vincit qui patitur; for what contumelious indignities he hath at their hands sustained, the world is witness; and what reward of honour above his adversaries God hath bestowed upon him, themselves (though nothing glad thereof) must needs confess. Now of late years the heat of men towards the discipline is greatly decayed: their judgments begin to sway on the other side; the learned have weighed it, and found it light; wise men conceive some fear, lest it prove not only not the best kind of government, but the very bane and destruction of all government. The cause of this change in men's opinions, may be drawn from the general nature of error, disguised and clothed with the name of truth; which did mightily and violently possess men at first, but afterwards, the weakness thereof being by time discovered, it lost that reputation, which before it had gained. As by the outside of an house the passers by are often-times deceived, till they see the conveniency of the rooms within: so by the very name of discipline and reformation, men were drawn at first to cast a fancy towards it, but, now they have not contented themselves only to pass by and behold afar off the fore-front of this reformed house; they have entered in, even at the special request of master-workmen and chief builders thereof: they

* John Whitgift the Archbishop.

have

have perused the rooms, the lights, the conveniencies, and they find them not answerable to that report which was made of them, nor to that opinion which upon report they had conceived; So as now, the discipline which at first triumphed over all, being unmasked, beginneth to droop and hang down her head.

" This cause of change in opinion concerning the discipline, is proper to the learned, or to such as by them have been instructed. Another cause there is more open, and more apparent to the view of all, namely, the course of practice, which the reformers have had with us from the beginning. The first degree was only some small difference about the cap and surplice, but not such as either bred division in the church, or tended to the ruin of the government established. This was peaceable; the next degree more stirring. Admonitions were directed to the parliament in peremptory sort against our whole form of regiment; in defence of them, volumes were published in English, and in Latin; yet this was no more than writing. Devices were set on foot to erect the practice of the discipline without authority; yet, herein some regard of modesty, some moderation was used: Behold, at length it brake forth into open outrage, first in writing by Martin, in whose kind of dealing these things may be observed; first, that whereas T. C and others his great masters had always before set out the discipline as a queen, and as the daughter of God; he contrarywise, to make her more acceptable to the people, brought her forth as a vice upon the stage. 2dly. This conceit of his was grounded (as may be supposed) upon this rare policy, that seeing the discipline was by writing refuted, in parliament rejected, in secret corners hunted out and decried, it was imagined that by open railing (which

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to the vulgar is commonly most plausible) the state ecclesiastical might have been drawn into such contempt and hatred, as the overthrow thereof should have been most grateful to all men, and in a manner desired by all the common people. 3. It may be noted, (and this I know myself to be true) how some of them, although they could not for shame approve so lewd an action; yet, were content to lay hold on it to the advancement of their cause, by acknowledging therein the secret judgments of God against the Bishops; and hoping that some good might be wrought thereby for his church; as, indeed there was, though not according to their construction. For, 4. contrary to their expectation, that railing spirit did not only not further, but extremely disgrace and prejudice their cause, when it was once perceived from how low degrees of contradiction, at first, to what outrage of contumely and slander they were at length proceeded; and were also likely to proceed further.

"A further degree of outrage was also in fact. Certain prophets * did arise, who deeming it not possible that God should suffer that to be undone, which they did so fiercely desire to have done, namely, that his holy saints, the favourers and fathers of the discipline, should be enlarged, and delivered from persecution; and seeing no means of deliverance ordinary, were fain to persuade themselves that God must needs raise some extraordinary means; and being persuaded of none so well as of themselves, they forthwith must needs be the instruments of this great work. Hereupon they framed unto themselves an assured hope that upon their preaching out of a pease-cart in Cheapside, all the multitude would have presently joined unto them; and, in amazement of mind have asked

* Hacket and Coppinger.

them,

them, *Viri fratres, quid agimus?* whereunto it is likely they would have returned an answer far unlike to that of St. Peter, "Such and such are men unworthy to govern, pluck them down; such and such are the dear children of God, let them be advanced."

"Of two of these men it is meet to speak with all commiseration: yet so, that others by their example may receive instruction, and withall some light may appear, what stirring affections the discipline is like to inspire, if it light upon apt and prepared minds.

"Now, if any man doubt of what society they were? or, if the reformers disclaim them, pretending, that by them they were condemned; let these points be considered. "1. Whose associates were they before they entered into this frantic passion? whose sermons did they frequent? whom did they admire? 2. Even when they were entering into it, whose advice did they require? and when they were in, whose approbation? whom advertised they of their purpose? whose assistance by prayer did they request?" But we deal injuriously with them to lay this to their charge; for they reproved and condemned it. How? did they disclose it to the magistrate, that it might be suppressed? or were they not rather content to stand aloof of, and see the end of it, as being loath to quench that spirit. No doubt these mad practitioners were of their society, with whom before, and in the practice of their madness they had most affinity. Hereof read Dr. Bancroft's book.

"A third inducement may be to dislike of the discipline, if we consider not only how far the reformers themselves have proceeded, but what others upon their foundations have built. Here come the Brownists in the first rank, their lineal descendants: who

who have seized upon a number of strange opinions: whereof, although their ancestors, the reformers, were never actually possessed, yet by right and interest from them derived, the Brownists and Barrowists have taken possession of them; for, if the positions of the reformers be true, I cannot see how the main and general conclusions of Brownism should be false; for, upon these two points, as I conceive, they stand.

" 1. That because we have no church, they are to sever themselves from us. 2. That without civil authority they are to erect a church of their own. And if the former of these be true, the latter, I suppose will follow; for if above all things, men be to regard their salvation; and, if out of the church, there be no salvation; it followeth, that if we have no church, we have no means of salvation; and therefore separation from us, in that respect, is both lawful and necessary; as also that men so separated from the false and counterfeit church, are to associate themselves unto some church; not to our's; to the Popish much less; therefore to one of their own making: Now the ground of all these inferences being this, *(That in our church there is no means of salvation)* is out of the reformers principles most clearly to be proved. For, wheresoever any matter of faith unto salvation necessary is denied, there can be no means of salvation; but in the church of England, the discipline (by them accounted a matter of faith,) and, necessary to salvation, is not only denied, but impugned, and the professors thereof oppressed. Ergo.

" Again, (but this reason perhaps is weak) every true church of Christ, acknowledgeth the whole gospel of Christ: The discipline, in their opinion,

is

is a part of the gospel, and yet by our church resisted, Ergo.

" Again, the discipline is essentially united to the church: by which term essentially, they must mean either an essential part, or an essential property. Both which ways it must needs be, that where that essential discipline is not, neither is there any church. If therefore between them and the Brownists, there should be appointed a solemn disputation, whereof with us they have been oftentimes so earnest challengers: it doth not yet appear what other answer they could possibly frame to these and the like arguments, wherewith they may be pressed, but fairly to deny the conclusion (for all the premises are their own) or rather ingenuously to reverse their own principles, before laid, whereon so foul absurdities have been so firmly built. What further proofs you can bring out of their high words, magnifying the discipline, I leave to your better remembrance: but above all points, I am desirous this one should be strongly inforced against them, because it wringeth them most of all, and is of all others (for ought I see) the most unanswerable: you may notwithstanding say, that you would be heartily glad these their positions might be salved as the Brownists might not appear to have issued out of their loins; but until that be done, they must give us leave to think that they have cast the seed whereout these tares are grown.

" Another sort of men there are, which have been content to run on with the reformers for a time, and to make them poor instruments of their own designs. These are a sort of godless politics, who perceiving the plot of discipline to consist of these two parts, the overthrow of episcopal, and erections of presbyterial authority, and that this latter

latter can take no place till the former be removed, are content to join with them in the destructive part of discipline, bearing them in hand, that in the other also they shall find them as ready. But when time shall come, it may be they would be as loath to be yoked with that kind of regiment, as now they are willing to be released from this. These mens' ends in all their actions, is distraction, their pretence and colour, reformation. Those things which under this colour they have effected to their own good, are, 1. By maintaining a contrary faction, they have kept the clergy always in awe, and thereby, made them more pliable and willing to buy their peace. 2. By maintaining an opinion of equality among ministers, they have made way to their own purposes for devouring cathedral churches, and bishops livings. 3. By exclaiming against abuses in the church, they have carried their own corrupt dealing in the civil state more covertly; for such is the nature of the multitude, that they are not able to apprehend many things at once: so as being possessed with a dislike or liking of any one thing, many other in the mean time may escape them without being perceived. 4. They have sought to disgrace the clergy, in entertaining a conceit in mens' minds, and confirming it by continual practice, "That men of learning, and specially of the clergy, which are employed in the chiefest kind of learning, are not to be admitted, or sparingly admitted to matters of state;" contrary to the practice of all well-governed commonwealths, and of our own till these late years.

"A third sort of men there are, though not descended from the reformers, yet in part raised and greatly strengthened by them; namely, the cursed crew of Atheists. This also is one of those points, which I am desirous you should handle most

most effectually, and strain yourself therein to all points of motion and affection; as, in that of the Brownists, to all strength and sinews of reason. This is a sort most damnable, and yet by the general suspicion of the world at this day most common. The causes of it, which are in the parties themselves (although you handle in the beginning of the fifth book,) yet here again they may be touched; but the occasions of help and furtherance, which by the reformers have been yielded unto them, are, as I conceive, two; namely, *senseless preaching*, and *disgracing of the ministry;* for how should not men dare to impugn that, which neither by force of reason, nor by authority of persons is maintained? But in the parties themselves these two causes I conceive of atheism, 1. more abundance of wit than judgment, and of witty than judicious learning, whereby, they are more inclined to contradict any thing, than willing to be informed of the truth. They are not therefore, men of sound learning for the most part, but smatterers; neither is their kind of dispute so much by force of argument, as by scoffing; which humour of scoffing, and turning matters most serious into merriment, is now become so common, as we are not to marvel what the prophet means by the seat of scorners, nor, what the Apostles by foretelling of scorners to come; for our own age hath verified their speech unto us; which also may be an argument against these scoffers and atheists themselves, seeing it hath been so many ages ago foretold, that such men the later days of the world should afford: which, could not be done by any other spirit, save that whereunto things future and present are alike. And even for the main question of the resurrection, whereat they stick so mightily! was it not plainly foretold, that men should in the latter times say, Where is the promise of his coming? Against the creation,

creation, the ark, and divers other points, exceptions are said to be taken, the ground whereof is superfluity of wit, without ground of learning and judgment. A second cause of atheism is sensuality, which maketh men desirous to remove all stops and impediments of their wicked life; among which, because religion is the chiefest, so as neither in this life without shame they can persist therein, nor (if that be true) without torment in the life to come: they therefore whet their wits to annihilate the joys of heaven, wherein they see (if any such be) they can have no part, and likewise the pains of hell, wherein their portion must needs be very great. They labour therefore, not that they may not deserve those pains, but that deserving them, there may be no such pains to seize upon them. But, what conceit can be imagined more base, than that man should strive to persuade himself even against the secret instinct (no doubt) of his own mind, that his soul is as the soul of a beast, mortal and corruptible with the body? Against which barbarous opinion, their own atheism is a very strong argument. For were not the soul a nature separable from the body, how could it enter into discourse of things merely spiritual, and nothing at all pertaining to the body? Surely the soul were not able to conceive any thing of heaven, no not so much as to dispute against heaven and against God, if there were not in it somewhat heavenly and derived from God.

" The last which have received strength and encouragement from the reformers are Papists; against whom although they are most bitter enemies, yet unwittingly they have given them great advantage. For, what can any enemy rather desire than the breach and dissention of those which are confederates against him? Wherein they are to remember, that

that if our communion with Papists in some few ceremonies do so much strengthen them as is pretended, how much more doth this division and rent among ourselves, especially seeing it is maintained to be, not in light matters only, but even in matter of faith and salvation? which over-reaching speech of theirs, because it is so open an advantage for the Barrowist and the Papist, we are to wish and hope for, that they will acknowledge it to have been spoken rather in heat of affection, than with soundness of judgment; and that through their exceeding love to that creature of discipline which themselves have bred, nourished, and maintained, their mouth in commendation of her did so often overflow.

"From hence you may proceed (but the means of connexion I leave to yourself) to another discourse, which I think very meet to be handled either here or elsewhere at large; the parts whereof may be these. 1. That in this cause between them and us, men are to sever the proper and essential points and controversy, from those which are accidental. The most essential and proper are these two: overthrow of episcopal, and erection of presbyterial authority. But in these two points whosoever joineth with them is accounted of their number; whosoever in all other points agreeth with them, yet thinketh the authority of Bishops not unlawful, and of elders not necessary, may justly be severed from their retinue. Those things therefore, which either in the persons, or in the laws and orders themselves are faulty, may be complained on, acknowledged and amended; yet they no whit the nearer their main purpose; for what if all errors by them supposed in our Liturgy were amended, even according to their own hearts desire? if non-residence, pluralities, and the like, were utterly taken away?

away? are their lay-elders therefore presently authorized? or their sovereign ecclesiastical jurisdiction established?

" But even in their complaining against the outward and accidental matters in church-government, they are many ways faulty: 1. In their end, which they propose to themselves. For in declaiming against abuses, their meaning is not to have them redressed, but by disgracing the present state, to make way for their own discipline. As therefore in Venice, if any senator should discourse against the power of their senate, as being either too sovereign, or too weak in government, with purpose to draw their authority to a moderation, it might well be suffered; but not so, if it should appear he spake with purpose to induce another state by depraving the present: So, in all causes belonging either to church or commonwealth, we are to have regard what mind the complaining part doth bear, whether of amendment or innovation; and, accordingly either to suffer or suppress it. Their objection therefore is frivolous, Why may not men speak against abuses? Yes; but with desire to cure the part affected, not to destroy the whole. 2. A second fault is in their manner of complaining, not only because it is for the most part in bitter and reproachful terms, but also it is to the common people, who are judges incompetent and insufficient, both to determine any thing amiss, and for want of skill and authority to amend it. Which also discovereth their intent and purpose to be rather destructive than corrective. 3. Thirdly, those very exceptions which they take are frivolous and impertinent: some things indeed they accuse as impious, which if they may appear to be such, God forbid they should be maintained.

" Against the rest it is only alledged, that they are idle ceremonies without use, and that better and

more profitable might be devised. Wherein they are doubly deceived; for neither is it a sufficient plea to say, This must give place, because a better may be devised; because in our judgments of better and worse, we oftentimes conceive amiss, when we compare those things which are in devise, with those which are in practice; for the imperfections of the one are hid, till by time and trial they be discovered: The others are already manifest and open to all. But last of all (which is a point in my opinion of great regard, and which I am desirous to have enlarged) they do not see that for the most part when they strike at the state ecclesiastical, they secretly wound the civil state: for personal faults, What can be said against the church, which may not also agree to the commonwealth? In both states men have always been, and will be always, men; sometimes blinded with error, most commonly perverted by passions: many unworthy have been and are advanced in both, many worthy not regarded. And as for abuses which they pretend to be in the laws themselves, when they inveigh against non-residence, do they take it a matter lawful or expedient in the civil state for a man to have a great and gainful office in the north, himself continually remaining in the south? He that hath an office, let him attend his office. When they condemn plurality of livings spiritual to the pit of hell, what think they of the infinite of temporal promotions? By the great philosopher, (Pol. lib. 2. c. 9.) it is forbidden as a thing most dangerous to commonwealths, that by the same man many great offices should be exercised. When they deride our ceremonies as vain and frivolous, were it hard to apply their exceptions even to those civil ceremonies, which at the coronation, in parliament, and all courts of justice, are used; were it hard to argue even against circumcision,

sion, the ordinance of God, as being a cruel ceremony? against the passover, as being ridiculous? —shod, girt, a staff in their hand, to eat a lamb.

" To conclude; you may exhort the clergy (or what if you direct your conclusion not to the clergy in general, but only to the learned in or of both Universities?) you may exhort them to a due consideration of all things, and to a right esteem and valuing of each thing in that degree wherein it ought to stand. For it oftentimes falleth out, that what men have either devised themselves, or greatly delighted in, the price and the excellency thereof they do admire above desert. The chiefest labour of a christian should be to know; of a minister, to preach Christ crucified: in regard whereof, not only worldly things, but things otherwise precious, even the discipline itself is vile and base: whereas now by the heat of contention, and violence of affection, the zeal of men towards the one hath greatly decayed their love to the other. Hereunto therefore they are to be exhorted, to preach Christ crucified, the mortification of the flesh, the renewing of the spirit; not those things which in time of strife seem precious, but (passions being allayed) are vain and childish.

G. C."

ARCHBISHOP WHITGIFT.

For the Church of England, in casting out Papal tyranny and superstition, to have shewed greater willingness of accepting the very ceremonies of the Turk, Christ's professed enemy, than of the most indifferent things which the Church of Rome approveth; to have left not so much as the names which the Church of Rome doth give to things innocent; to have rejected whatsoever that Church doth make account of, be it never so harmless in itself, and of never so ancient continuance, without any other crime to charge it with, than only that it hath been the hap thereof to be used by the Church of Rome, and not to be commanded in the word of God: this kind of proceeding might happily have pleased some few men, who having begun such a course themselves, must needs be glad to see their example followed by us. But the Almighty which giveth wisdom, and inspireth with right understanding whomsoever it pleaseth him, he foreseeing that which man's wit had never been able to reach unto; namely, what tragedies the attempt of so extreme alteration would raise in some parts of the Christian world, did for the endless good of his Church, (as we cannot chuse but interpret it) use the bridle of his provident restraining hand to stay those eager affections in some, and to settle their resolution upon a course more calm and moderate. HOOKER.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Life of Archbishop Whitgift, which was first published in the year 1612, is here printed intire from the second edition, intitled "The Life of John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the times of Q. Elizabeth and K. James I.; written by Sir George Paule, Comptroller of his Grace's household. London, 1699." 8vo.

TO

TO THE

Most Reverend Father in God,

GEORGE,

Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Metropolitan; one of the Lords of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council.

Most Reverend, and my ever Honoured Lord,

I SEE it incident to personages of high place and deserving, to win by their living favours many obsequious followers; who, after their decease, prove but cold remembrancers of their bounty, or other virtues: which slackness in others forced that boldness in me, rather to chuse the hazard of disreputation to my pen, which was never cunning, than to my heart, which shall never be ungrateful. And therefore I have presumed to set down the godly and religious courses of the most Reverend Archbishop WHITGIFT, your Grace's late predecessor, to shew mine own obligation to his memory, and to make known his worthy parts to future ages. And because your Grace's beginnings shew how careful an embracer you are of his chiefest virtues, as well in your industrious studies, as in your private and public government: I held it my duty to present both this, and my best services to your Grace. That here you may see, if nothing else, those

those virtues in another, that are so aimed at by yourself. Which make many true affected hearts pray, that by your godly, vigilant and prudent guidance, his Church may long and happily flourish among us.

To your Grace most bounden,

GEO. PAULE.

TO THE

READER.

IT was far from my thoughts that these first draughts of mine, which I only intended as minutes and directions for a more skilful penman, should ever have shewed themselves to the world, had not the backwardness of some, and the importunity of others, driven me to the Orator's resolution; who saith, *I had rather any man should do it than myself; yet myself, rather than none at all.* The argument may peradventure sooner find some maliguers, than just reprovers. Wherein yet, as far as the importance and necessity of the cause will suffer, I have so warily tempered the sharpness of my pen, that I hope none of moderate humour himself, will justly charge me of being immoderate herein. But yet, if any where I shall seem otherwise, the discreet reader will see it is out of the instructions, records, and authors, whom I follow, and not out of mine own disposition, who desired as well herein, as in other of my courses, rather to imitate my master in his mild and moderate carriage, than willingly to be offensive or displeasing to any. Neither is it my purpose to have the ashes of the dead raked up again. But as no man can rightly commend a commander, or skilful pilot, without relating their past exploits, and dangerous storms: So neither could

could I, without wronging my reader, and the principal subject, commend him for so worthy and prudent a governor, unless I had withal given a taste of his adventures, and the stormy time wherein he lived. And therefore I pray thee, courteous reader, both charitably and modestly to censure my travel and pains herein.

ARCHBISHOP

ARCHBISHOP WHITGIFT.

A WISE and excellent historian[1] saith; *It hath always been a matter of free liberty, and least subject to detraction, to speak of those, whom death hath exempted from hatred or favour.* A speech that moved me to write (whilest many other, better able, look on) the Life of the most Reverend and Worthy Prelate John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, to the end that posterity might take true notice of the worth of such, as have well guided the stern of this church, and settled the peace thereof; and render unto him, as unto other men, the due honour and commendation, which he hath deserved.

He came of the ancient family of Whitgift, of Whitgift in Yorkshire. His grandfather, John Whitgift, Gentleman, had many children; some whereof he made scholars, others he placed abroad in several courses of life, disposing his father, Henry Whitgift, to be a merchant at Great Grimsby in Lincolnshire, where he married Ann Dynewell, a virtuous young woman, of good parentage in that town, of whom this our Archbishop came, and was there born in the year of our Lord, 1530, being the eldest of his father's sons, who were five in number, besides himself, viz. William, George, Philip, Richard, and Jeffery.

[1] *Excellent historian.*] [Tacit. Annal. lib. 4.]

He

He had an uncle called Robert Whitgift, Abbot of the monastry of Wellow, in the county of Lincoln, near Grimsby, who teaching divers young gentlemen, took like pains also with him. In which time (as he was pleased often to remember) he heard his uncle, the Abbot say, *That they, and their religion, could not long continue; because* (said he) *I have read the whole Scripture over and over, and could never find therein that our religion was founded by God.* And for proof of his opinion, the Abbot would alledge that saying of our Saviour; *Omnis plantatio, quam non plantavit pater meus cœlestis eradicabitur:* Every planting which my heavenly father hath not planted, shall be rooted up. (Matth. 15. 13.)

His uncle, finding an extraordinary towardliness in him, sent him afterwards to London, where he became a scholar in St. Anthony's school, and boarded at his aunt's house in Paul's Church-yard; she being the wife of Michael Shaller, a verger of that church. There he escaped a great danger, lying with another scholar that had the plague, and coming in the summer-time hot and thirsty from school, drank his urine out of a pot or cruse, standing at his bed's-head instead of drink[a]; and was not sick after it, though his bedfellow died.

From St. Anthony's school he repaired to Grimsby to his parents, being thrust out of doors by his aunt, because he would not (as she often required and solicited him by the Canons of Paul's) go with

[a] *Instead of drink.*] "Pater ei (Justo Jonæ) fuit vir honestus, consul ejus oppidi: qui cum peste esset correptus, et cepe abscessui impositum removisset; idque in scamno deposuisset, supervenit hic Justus filiolus, admodum puer, et cepe totum avide devoravit; citra tamen ullam contagionem." Melchior. Adami *Vitæ Germanor. Theologor.* p. 258. De Justo Jona.

her to morrow mass; imputing all her losses and domestic misfortunes to her harbouring of such an heretic within her doors; and, for a farewell told him, "That she thought, at the first, she had received a saint into her house, but now she perceived he was a devil."

His parents finding that he had much profited in his learning, sent him, by the advice and direction of his uncle, the Abbot, to Cambridge, where he was first of Queen's College; but liking not the education and disposition of some there, went to Pembroke-hall; Dr. Ridley (afterwards Bishop of London) being there master; who hearing by Mr. Bradford, his tutor, of his great towardliness and small means, (by reason of his father's losses at sea) made him scholar, and then Mr. Gurth became his tutor; from thence he was chosen fellow of Peterhouse, (May 1555) Dr. Pearne being then master there.

Whilst he was fellow of that house, he fell grievously sick, and was by commandment of Dr. Pearne (who much tendered him in regard of his good parts) carried to an house near the college, whither Dr. Pearne came often to visit him, and willed the woman of the house that he should want nothing; neither should she spare any cost for his good, and the recovery of his health, saying, that if he lived, he would be able to defray the charge himself; but if he died, the said Dr. Pearne would satisfy her, and pay for all things.

When it pleased God to restore him to his former health, he determined to travel beyond the seas, purposely to avoid certain visitors sent in Queen Mary's time to the University, to establish popery, and to enjoin the young fellows and scholars to take *Primam tonsuram*, being their first entrance into popish orders.

Dr.

Dr. Pearne hearing of this his purpose, talked with him, and found him resolute in his religion, yielding (as Dr. Pearne often acknowledged afterwards) many good and sound reasons therefore; whereupon the Doctor willed him to be silent, and not troublesome in uttering his opinion, whereby others might take occasion to call him in question: and he for his part would would wink at him, and so order the matter, that he might continue his religion, and not travel out of the University, which accordingly the good old man justly performed. For which his favour the Archbishop carried a loving, faithful, and true heart towards him unto his dying day.

He commenced Batchelor of Arts in the year 1553; Master of Arts, 1556; Batchelor of Divinity, 1562; Doctor of Divinity[3], 1569, at which time he answered the divinity act publicly in the commencement, wherein he maintained this position, *Papa est Ille Antichristus.*

After he was entered into the ministry, (which was upon the year 1560,) being to preach his first public sermon in St. Mary's, he chose for his text that excellent saying of St. Paul, *I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ*, &c. wherein his singular method, choice of matter, and judicious handling thereof, were such, that his whole auditory, especially the chief of the University, grew into great admiration of those great parts in so young years.

From being fellow of Peterhouse, he succeeded Dr. Hutton, late Archbishop of York, in the mastership of Pembroke-hall[4]; being then Chaplain to

[3] *Doctor of Divinity.*] This was in the year 1567. Strype's *Life of Whitgift.* p. 9.

[4] *Of Pembroke Hall.*] In the year 1567. See Neve's *Fasti.* p. 424.

Dr.

Dr. Cox, Bishop of Ely, by whose means he had a prebend in Ely, and the parsonage of Teversam near Cambridge.

He was also chosen divinity reader[5] of the Lady Margaret's lecture, which he discharged with so great liking of the whole University, that for his sake they increased the stipend from twenty marks to twenty pounds; and afterwards he was made the Queen's public Professor of Divinity.

Whilst he read these two lectures, the public schools were frequented with throngs of students in divinity, young, and old; such was his diligence, great learning, and extraordinary gifts shewed in the reading thereof; insomuch as many of the precise faction were his daily auditors, and the lectures themselves so highly accounted of (especially those, which he read upon the Apocalypse, and the Epistle to the Hebrews) that through the importunity of divers his honourable friends (then his pupils) and other of great learning, and judgment, he was persuaded to set down those his lectures in writing; which are like shortly for their excellency and worth, to be published[6] for the common benefit.

[5] *Divinity reader.*] In the year 1563. The augmentation of his salary took place July 5, 1566. See Baker's Catalogue of Professors, inserted in his edition of Bishop Fisher's *Funeral Sermon of the Lady Margaret.*

[6] *To be published.*] "Whatever was the reason, they have not to this day appeared in publick. I remember I have seen many years ago, this manuscript of Whitgift's own hand, in the possession of Dr. Pain, Minister sometime of Whitechapel, London: which after his death was intended to be purchased by the late learned Dr. Moore, Lord Bishop of Ely. But where that manuscript now lies, I know not, unless in the treasure of the aforesaid right reverend Prelate. In this volume of his Lectures was also his Thesis, when he kept his Act for Doctor in Divinity, viz. *That the Pope is that Antichrist.*" Strype's *Life of Whitgift.* p. 8.

His singular, and extraordinary gift in preaching, caused him, upon the recommendation of Sir Nicholas Bacon, the then Lord Keeper of the great seal of England, and Sir William Cecill, Principal Secretary (afterwards Lord Treasurer of England) to be sent for (A. D. 1567) to preach before her Majesty, who took so great liking of him, for his method, and matter, that, hearing his name to be Whitgift, she said he had a *white-gift* indeed. And as his gifts were then esteemed white, so his fortune afterwards proved white, and happy; his good name and reputation white, and spotless: so that it may be properly said of him, that he was *gallinæ filius albæ.*

Her Majesty within four months after that he was Master of Pembroke Hall, made him Master[7] of Trinity College, and caused him immediately after to be sworn her Chaplain.

In the college, at his first entrance, he found much division (especially amongst such as laboured innovation in the church) being begun and headed in the government of his predecessor Master Dr. Beaumont. Yet did he in short time wisely appease these stirs, and governed for five years space with great quietness both of the whole company, and himself, until Master Thomas Cartwright's (a fellow of that college) last return from beyond the seas.

The first discontentment of the said Master Cartwright grew at a disputation in the University before Queen Elizabeth, because Master Preston (then of King's College, and afterwards Master of Trinity Hall) for his comely gesture, and pleasing pronunciation, was both liked and rewarded by her

7 *Made him Master.*] [July 4. 1567.]

Majesty,

Majesty, and himself received neither reward, nor commendation; presuming of his own good scholarship, but wanting indeed that comely grace and behaviour which the other had. This his no small grief[8] he uttered unto divers of his inward friends in Trinity College, who were also very much discontented, because the honour of the disputation did not redound unto their college.

Mr. Cartwright, immediately after her Majesty's neglect of him, began to wade into divers opinions, as that of the discipline, and to kick against her ecclesiastical government; he also then grew highly conceited of himself for learning, and holiness, and a great contemner of others that were not of his his mind. And although the learning and qualities of any were never so mean, yet if he affected Master Cartwright, and his opinions, he should be in great estimation with him, according to the saying of the poet:

Præcipui sunto, sitque illis aurea barba.

But if he were against him in his fanciful conceits, though he were never so good a scholar, or so good a man, he could not brook or like of him; as of

[8] *This his no small grief.*] "Reports have commonly been spread, that the true cause of Cartwright's setting himself so openly against the Hierarchy as he did soon after, (to the great disturbance of the peace of the English Church) was from a disgust he took at this time; as though the Queen shewed more countenance to the other disputants than to him. But by the relation of the Queen's reception at Cambridge (now in the hands of a learned member of that University) there appears no clear ground for any such discontent. For the Queen is there said to have approved them all: only that Preston pleased her most; and was made her scholar, with the settlement of a yearly honorary salary on him." Strype's *Annals*. Vol. I. p. 446. edit. 2. Fuller's *Hist. of Cambridge*. p. 139.

Dr. Whitaker, and others. And although in their elections of scholars into that college, they made as good choice as any other, either before, or in their time, yet could he never afford the electors, nor parties elected, a good word, unless they sided with him in his fancies.

And that he might the better feed his humour with these conceited novelties, he travelled to Geneva; where observing the government and discipline of that church to be by certain ecclesiastical superintendents, and lay-elders, or presbyters, (as they called them,) he was so far carried away with an affection of that new devised discipline, as that he thought all churches and congregations for government ecclesiastical, were to be measured and squared by the practice of Geneva.

Therefore, when he returned home, he took many exceptions[9] against the established government of our church, disallowing the vocation of our Archbishops, Bishops, Archdeacons, and other ecclesiastical officers; the administration of our holy sacraments, and observation of our rites and ceremonies: and buzzing these conceits into the heads of divers young preachers and scholars of the University, he drew after him a great number of disciples and followers. And upon a Sunday (Doctor Whitgift being from home) Master Cartwright with some of his adherents, made three sermons[1] in that one day; wherein they so vehemently

[9] *Took many exceptions.*] Compare Strype's *Annals*. Vol. I. p. 623—629.

[1] *Made three sermons.*] "I know one preacher" (says Ailey, Bishop of Exeter, in a paper laid before the Upper House of Convocation, about the year 1564), "not of the basest sort nor estimation, which did glory and boast that he made eight sermons in London, against Surplices, Rochets, Tippets and Caps,

mently inveighed (amongst other ceremonies of our church) against the surplice, as those of Trinity College were so moved therewith, that at evening prayer they cast off their surplices[a] (though against the statutes of the house) and were all placed in the chapel without surplices, three only excepted; Doctor Legge, Mr. West, and the Chaplain. By reason of which stirs, both that private college was greatly distracted, and the whole University much perplexed and troubled.

For these his opinions were now broached not only at home in their college sermons, and domestical common-places, but by Master Cartwright himself, and his adherents, in the public church of the whole University; wherein they mightily declaimed against the ordination of our priests, and deacons, and greatly traduced the heads and governors of the colleges, because they attended the service of those places. The reverend bishops, and

Caps, counting them not to be perfect that wear them. And although it be all one in effect, to wear either round caps, square caps, or bottomed caps, yet it is thought very meet, that we being of one profession, and in one Ministry, should not vary and jangle one against the other for matters indifferent; which are made politick by the prescribed order of the Prince. Therefore if your Honourable Wisdome do not take some way, that either they may go as we go in apparel; or else that we may go as they do, it will be a thing, as it is already, both odious and scandalous unto no small number." Strype's *Annals*. Vol. I. p. 348. edit. 2d.

[a] *Cast off their surplices.*] A similar outrage was committed by the Fellows and Students to the number of near three hundred, in the neighbouring College of St. John's, about the beginning of December, 1565. See Strype's *Annals*. Vol. I. p. 478. And about the same time George Withers preached at Cambridge very loudly "against the superstitious figures in glass windows. And thus, being seconded by some zealots, a great many fine painting were destroyed." Collier's *Eccles. Hist.* Vol. II. p. 504.

fathers

fathers of the church, for their due observing ecclesiastical rules, and constitutions, were by them much perstringed; the established church paralelling (as they termed it) the Romish hierarchy, was also much reproached and disgraced.

Dr. Whitgift, after that Master Cartwright and his complices had broached this his dangerous doctrine, would always the Sunday following in the same church, answer and confute their opinions, with such commendation, and applause, as thereby he much quieted and settled the judgment of many, that otherwise were inclining to this innovation, and gained a singular opinion of the most learned and judicious throughout the whole University.

When by this course he had somewhat appeased these stirs, Master Cartwright did not yet cease, but by secret instigations set on others of his own humour to continue them; who in their college exercises (which they call common-places) and also in their open sermons, would prick at him with the swords of their tongues, and other-whiles uncharitably through the sides of others pierce and wound him; sometimes furiously without regard of duty, shame, or modesty, would strike downright at him. For it then was (and I pray God it still be not) a thing too frequent with that generation to tax their superiors, and to accuse their government, as also to asperse them and it with many unjust calumniations.

Notwithstanding, so far was he from entering into any rigorous course of proceeding against them (as justly he might have done by the statutes of the college, and public laws of the state) as that with great sufferance he winked at and passed by many of these wrongs and enormities, and instead of revenge, he by gentleness and goodness heaped coals upon the adversaries heads; as also

for

for rough and unseemly speeches, he breathed nothing but sweet breath of love, and peace, often exhorting them to call to God for grace, that they might have more sober consideration and better judgment of orders established, which then they mistook to be amiss. For (as a learned man truly saith of them) "those fervent reprehenders of things established by public authority, are always confident, and bold spirited men: but their confidence, (for the most part) riseth from too much credit given to their own wits; for which cause they are seldom free from errors." (Hooker's Eccles. Polity. lib. 5.)

The state of the University being in this sort marvellously disquieted by Master Cartwright, and his abettors, Doctor Whitgift wisely foresaw that these sparks of sedition, if in time they were not quenched, would grow to a great flame, to the endangering not only of the University, but of the whole church (as every one knoweth it afterward fell out); and therefore to cure this evil, if it might be, in the beginning, he oftentimes sent to Master Cartwright, and in friendly and kind manner, advised him to surcease from those courses. But finding him always wilfully bent, and finally obstinate; to prevent further mischief, he with the seniors of the house, called him in question; and having sufficient matter of expulsion against him, for uttering some errors in his lectures, and not recanting, nor expounding them, being by the master and seniors so appointed; and for exercising the function of a minister, having no letters of orders (which he had either torn, or suppressed, for that he thought it not lawful by his own doctrine to use them) and for transgressing the statutes of the house in divers others points, he expelled him the house; and being Vice-Chancellor, caused him likewise

likewise to be deprived of the Lady Margaret's Lecture, which then he read.

Before which course of proceeding with him, Doctor Whitgift (understanding that Master Cartwright had given it out, that his dangerous assertions were rather repressed by authority, than refelled by truth, and strength of reason) wished him to forbear such disturbance of the public peace of the church, and often offered him to enter a quieter course for trial of the truth of his cause by conference, and writing; which he always refused to accept, as may appear by an act recorded in the registry book of the University of Cambridge, under the testimony and subscription of the chief heads, bearing date the 18th of March, 1570, in these words.

"Whereas it is reported that Master Cartwright, offering disputations and conference, touching the assertions uttered by him, and subscribed with his *hand, and that he could not obtain his request therein; This is to testify, that in the presence of us, whose names are here under written, and in our hearing,* the said Master Cartwright was offered conference of divers, and namely of Mr. Doctor Whitgift, who offered, that if the said Master Cartwright would set down his assertions in *writing, and his* reasons unto them, he would answer the same in writing also; the which Master Cartwright refused to do. Further, the said Doctor Whitgift, at such time as Master Cartwright was deprived of his lecture, did in our presence ask the said Master Cartwright, whether he had both publickly and privately divers times offered the same conference unto him by writing or not. To which Master Cartwright answered, that he had been so offered, and that he refused the same.

Moreover, the said Master Cartwright did never offer any disputation, but upon these conditions; viz. That he might know who should be his adversaries, and who should be his judges; meaning such judges as he himself could best like of. Neither was this kind of disputation denied unto him, but only he was required to obtain licence of the Queen's Majesty, or the counsel, because his assertions be repugnant to the state of the commonwealth, which may not be called into question by public disputation, without licence of the Prince, or her Highness's counsel.

John Whitgift, Vice-Chancellor.
Andrew Pearne.
John Mey.
Edward Hawford.
William Chadderton.
Henry Harvy.
Thomas Ithell.
Thomas Bing.

"Et ego Matthæus Stokis Sarum Dioces, in Artibus Magister, publicus authoritate legitima Notarius, quia interfui deprivationi dicti Cartwright factæ undecimo die Decembris, Anno 1570. & tunc & ibidem audivi Doctorem Whitgift interrogantem eum Cartwright de præmissis allegatis, & M. Cartwright eadem confitentem; Ideo, in fidem & testimonium præmissorum, nomen meum requisitus superscripsi, Anno Domini 1570."

Not long after (at which time her Highness had summoned a Parliament) some of the principal note amongst these Disciplinarians thought that the fittest time either to effect their desires by some abettors in that high assembly, or at least to disperse

perse their opinions into all the parts of the kingdom. To which end they then published a seditious treatise, entituled, *an Admonition to the Parliament;* being indeed the very summary both of their opinions touching church matters, and of their shameless slanders against the governors thereof.

And albeit Doctor Whitgift considered that this libel was unworthy any serious confutation, yet in regard of the great applause it found among the green heads of the University (who were greedy of novelties) and to stop the current of so dangerous positions, he spared not his pains in writing a learned answer; therein laying open the weakness of that cause, and the strength of their malice, who so hotly pursued the same; which being published upon the Year 1572, won him no less reputation with the learneder sort, than the former had with the young and weaker brains: yea even those who had formerly thought the Admonition unanswerable, found the rashness of their censures by the soundness of that refutation.

Whereupon Master Cartwright, notwithstanding his former refusal to enter into the list with Doctor Whitgift (as is aforesaid) seeing both the walls and foundation of his new founded church-government already shaken, and tottering, endeavoured to underprop the same with a reply. The weakness whereof Doctor Whitgift displayed in his *Defence of the Answer to the Admonition, against the Reply.*

But Master Cartwright (glorying belike to have the last word) published a second Reply, fraught with no other stuff, than had been before refuted: yet Doctor Whitgift addressing himself to answer it, was by the advice of some (whose judgments he much esteemed) dissuaded from troubling himself

self, in refuting that which he had already overthrown. Amongst others who dissuaded him, the learned Doctor Whitaker was one; against whose judgment the adversary can no way justly except. His words in his letter to Doctor Whitgift are these; "Quem Cartwrightus nuper emisit libellum ejus magnam partem perlegi. Ne vivam, si quid unquam viderim dissolutius, ac penè puerilius. Verborum satis ille quidem lautam, ac novam supellectilem habet, rerum omninò nullam, quantum ego judicare possum. Deinde, non modò perversè de Principis in rebus sacris atque Ecclesiasticis aucthoritate sentit, sed in Papistarum etiam castra transfugit, à quibus tamen videri vult odio capitali dissidere. Verum nec in hac causa ferendus, et aliis etiam in partibus tela à Papistis mutuatur. Denique ut de Ambrosio dixit Hieronimus, verbis ludit, sententiis dormitat, et planè indignus est, qui à quopiam doctò refutetur. I have read over (saith he) a great part of the book which Master Cartwright hath lately set forth. Let me not live if I ever saw any thing more loose, and almost more childish. As for words, indeed he hath store of them, both trim, and fresh enough; but as for matter he hath none at all. Besides this, he hath not only peevish assertions touching the Princes authority in matters sacred, and ecclesiastical, but he also flatly revolteth from us to the camp of the Papists [3], from whom he would seem to fly with deadly hatred. And not in this cause only is he unsufferable, but in other points also he borroweth his weapons and arguments from the Papists. And in a word, as Hierome sometime

[3] *To the camp of the Papists.*] See Bancroft's *Survey of the Pretended Holy Discipline*, Chap. 23. p. 258—268, and *Sermons by Dr. Thomas Balguy*, p. 63.

said

said of Ambrose; he is in his words but a trifler, and for his matter but a dreamer, and altogether unworthy to be refuted by any man of learning."

Master Cartwright after these controversies thus begun and continued by himself as you see, lived sometimes beyond the seas, now in one place, and then in another, without attaining any eminent or certain place in the commonwealth, save only the mastership of an hospital in Warwick.

But Doctor Whitgift having continued master of Trinity College ten years, and being twice Vice-chancellor, was by her Majesty preferred also to the deanery of Lincoln [4], which he held for the space of seven years; so long as he remained in Cambridge.

By his government in Trinity College he made many excellent scholars, that came afterwards to great preferment in the church and commonwealth, five whereof [5] were in his time Bishops, that then were Fellows of the College when he was Master, and some of them his pupils; besides many Deans and others of dignity and estimation in the church at this day.

He had divers earls and noblemens' sons to his pupils [6], as namely, the Earls of Worcester and Cumberland, the Lord Zouch, the Lord Dunboy of

[4] *Deanry of Lincoln.*] He was installed Aug. 2, 1751. Le Neve's *Fasti*, p. 146.

[5] *Five whereof.*] [*Norwich*, Redman. *Worcester*, Babington. *St. David's*, Rud. *Gloucester*, Golsborough. *Hereford*, Bennet.]

[6] *To his pupils.*] "It must not be forgotten, that Doctor Whitgift, afterward Archbishop of Canterbury, sent unto his pupil" (Sir Edward Coke) "when the Queen's Attorney, a fair New Testament, with this message: *He hath long enough studied Common Law; now let him study the Law of God.*" Lloyd's *State Worthies*, p. 824. edit. 1670. Life of Sir Edward Coke.

Ireland,

Ireland, Sir Nicholas, and Sir Francis Bacon, now his Majesty's Solicitor General, in whom he took great comfort, as well for their singular towardliness as for their observance of him, and performance of many good offices towards him. All which, together with the rest of the scholars of that house, he held to their public disputations, and exercises, and prayers, which he never missed, chiefly for devotion, and withal to observe others absence, always severely punishing such omissions and negligences.

He usually dined and supped in the common hall, as well to have a watchful eye over the scholars, and to keep them in a mannerly and awful obedience, as by his example to teach them to be contented with a scholar-like College diet.

The sway and rule he then did bear through the whole University, the Records themselves will sufficiently testify; for by his mere travail and labour, and the credit he had with her Majesty, and the Lord Burghley then Lord Treasurer of England, and Chancellor of Cambridge, he procured an alteration and amendment of the statutes of the University. In which kind of affairs and business all the heads of the houses were directed and advised by him, as from an oracle; for commonly whatsoever he spake or did, they still concurred with him, and would do nothing without him.

He never took the foil at any man's hands, during his ten years continuance in Trinity College; being therein not unlike unto Pittacus in his ten years government of Mitilene, *Cui nunquam, per id tempus, contigit in aliquâ causâ, quam in se susciperet cadere*[7]. For as the causes he dealt in were always just, so his success was ever prosperous, wherein

[7] *Susciperet cadere.*] [Diog. Laert de Vit. Philosoph.]

his

his singular wisdom was to be noted, and his courage and stoutness in his attempts were observed of the greatest; and the general fame thereof remaineth yet fresh in the University, and will continue as his badge and cognizance so long as his memory lasteth. And yet that stoutness of his was so well tempered, and mingled with his other virtue of mildness and patience, that Master Hooker made this true observation of him, "He always governed with that moderation which useth by patience to suppress boldness, and to make them conquer that suffer," which I think well suited with his posey or motto: VINCIT QUI PATITUR.

The first wound which those fervent reprehenders received at Doctor Whitgift's hands, and his prudent order of government, together with his singular gift in preaching, made his fame spread, and gained him so great estimation, that her Majesty was pleased to make choice of him, before many others of eminent place in the church, to be Bishop of Worcester[s]. Upon which his advancement he first took his leave of the whole University by a public sermon, which he preached in St. Mary's Church; wherein he exhorted them to peace. And afterwards by a private sermon in Trinity College he gave unto that society such a godly and learned exhortation for their continuance and constancy in peace and unity as it so moved their affections that they burst out into tears, insomuch that there were scarce any dry eyes to be found amongst the whole number. He chose for his text the same farewel which St. Paul gave unto the Corinthians: "*Finally, brethren, fare you well: be perfect, be of good comfort, be of one mind, live in peace, and*

[s] *Bishop of Worcester.*] [Consecrated Bishop of Worcester, April 21, 1577.]

the God of love and peace shall be with you." (2 Cor. 13. 11.)

In June following he was attended, and accompanied on his way from Cambridge towards Worcester, with a great troop of the heads and others of choice account in the University, and with exceeding lamentation, and sorrow of all sorts, for the loss they conceived they had of so worthy a governor.

But their grief for the loss of him was not so great as was the joy of them who had found him; amongst whom it pleased her Majesty to grace his very first entrance both in forgiving him his first-fruits (a princely and extraordinary bounty) as also in bestowing on him (for the better encouragement and provision of his chaplains, and other learned men about him) the disposing of all the prebends of that church of Worcester during his continuance there.

He found the bishopric at his first coming much impaired by his predecessors granting away in long leases, divers manors, parks, and mansion-houses. But that which much troubled him, and wherein he most of all stirred, was the letting to Master Abington, Cofferer to the late Queen, the rent-corn of his two best manors, Hollow and Grimley, which is the chief upholding of the Bishop's hospitality, and without which (especially in dear years) he is not able to keep house. This lease being let to Master Abington (a great man then to contend withal, his wife also being sometimes the Queen's bed-fellow) the Bishop notwithstanding did call it in question; having now (besides his honourable friends the Lord Keeper and the Lord Treasurer) gained by his attendance at court many more about her Majesty, who much favoured him, and professed great love unto him; especially the

the Earl of Leicester, Sir Christopher Hatton, Vice-chamberlain; and Sir Francis Walsingham, Principal Secretary; all in special grace with her Highness. Master Abington, by his wife's greatness, procured her Majesty's gracious letters, written very earnestly in his behalf. The Bishop returning answer unto her Majesty, and informing her by means of his honourable friends, how prejudicial it was unto the bishopric, she was thereupon much displeased with Master Abington, and took part with the Bishop; insomuch that Master Abington was willing to have yielded the said rent-corn for the Bishop's own time, so that his lease might have still stood on foot against his successor; which the Bishop utterly refused, and in the end was rather contented, by way of composition (notwithstanding that the lease was void, because the rent-corn was never before let) to give Master Abington three hundred pounds out of his own purse to have the lease surrendered, and to redeem the said corn; which yet remaineth, and I hope ever will, unto his successor in that see.

Some have accounted Worcestershire happy in having so kind and loving men to their Bishops; and others impute it to the good nature and disposition of the people, that so love and kindly use their Bishops, that thereby (unless they be too inflexible and harsh) they cannot but in requital of their loves, entertain them with reciprocal kindnesses. But howsoever it be, such was the mutual love betwixt this Bishop and the gentlemen there, that they delighted much to converse together; especially at assizes and sessions the Bishop would commonly reside at Worcester, to give the Judges and Justices entertainment. There was no speeding of commissions for service of the country, nor any appointment for the Justices meeting for such purposes,

purposes, but ever the Bishop's pleasure was first known for time and place, and the rest of the gentlemen accordingly attended him. He would oftentimes make appointment of meetings, either at his own house or some of theirs, for some commendable recreation or exercises; whereby still to keep the gentlemen, by their continual repair to each other, in mutual love and concord.

If he had understood of any jar or discord, he would send for both parties, unawares to each other, under pretence of some service to be done, or some meeting appointed, and before their departure would make them friends. If he perceived a frowardness in either of them, and that by intreaty he could not prevail, then would he leave persuasion and intreaty, and, as being Vice-President of the Marches of Wales (which place her Majesty, shortly after he was made a Bishop, bestowed upon him) threaten the obstinate with imprisonment or safe custody till he should reform himself. Of which his resolution, when the gentlemen of the chiefest sway and account had experience, they then would grow calm, and submit themselves, and he as mildly and gently did use them when he saw them coming. One particular instance (among many) I will give you, of Sir John Russell and Sir Henry Berkeley, betwixt whom was so deadly a quarrel, as that great bloodshed was like to have ensued at a sessions in Worcester, by reason of their many friends and followers, had not the Bishop wisely prevented it, by providing a strong watch at the gates and about the city, and requiring them to bring both parties, with their attendance, well guarded, to his palace; where he caused them all, to the number of four or five hundred, to deliver their weapons into his own servants custody; and after two hours pains taken,

sometimes in persuading, and otherwhiles in threatning them, he made them so good friends as they both attended him hand in hand to the town-hall, where they performed the service of their country in amity and love, and ever after held him in great honour and estimation therefore. Wherein he was much happier than Bias, who reporteth of himself, that "He never arbitrated any controversy between two of his friends, but he made one of them his enemy." (Diog. Laert. de Vit. Philos. lib. 1.)

A year after his consecration to that bishopric he was (as before is mentioned) made Vice-President of the Marches of Wales, (Sir Henry Sidney, his very honourable friend, being then Lord President, and at that time Lord Deputy of Ireland,) where albeit the Bishop might immediately have taken upon him, according to his place, to direct the Court, having an excellent quick understanding, a good facility of speech, and a deep and sound judgment, gained by his long experience in government at Cambridge and elsewhere, where his sufficiency and patience were tried to the proof; yet notwithstanding it was a whole year before he would almost speak in the public affairs, much less take upon him to bear any sway, but still observed the orders and practice of the court, and looked into the affections and dispositions of his associates; hearing the complaints of the suppliants, and informing himself by others of integrity and honesty, and sometimes noting their partial orders and corrupt dealings; but at the year's end he then took upon him the directing and ordering of things himself, taking exceeding pains from morning till bed-time, affording himself only some small times for meals and study.

And when he had found the corruption of some of his associates, as well by his own observation as by

by the confession of the parties that corrupted them (for the property of some amongst them, was to leave nothing unassayed to corrupt any man to serve their own turn for the present, though they ever after hated him to the death, and would revile him) he would dismiss these associates by sending for others under pretence of ease to the parties.

He had also a special care (as behoved him) of his own family, and attendants near unto him; and therefore to avoid all colour and suspicion of corruption, he would never hear any cause or informations, or receive petitions in his private chamber, but abroad, by the petitioners themselves, either in going to the chapel, court, dinner, supper, or at the council-board; insomuch as a gentleman of his bed chamber (employed sometimes by him) making request unto him that he might have the delivery of suitors petitions, and indorse their answers, he grew into such dislike of the young gentleman (as supposing he had been tampered withal) that he presently discharged him of his chamber, and could never afterwards very well brook him.

For this his integrity and just dealing, the people of Wales especially had a very reverend and honourable opinion of him, the rather because they observed in him a temperate and mild government, without reviling or harsh speeches; and oftentimes moderating their fines and punishments, which in strictness of law, and opinion of his associates, would have lighted heavily upon them; for which they highly esteemed him as their patron and protector, and said he was sent amongst them to deliver them from the oppression of the mighty, and corruption of the wicked: yea, such was their opinion and conceit of him, that if he had imprisoned, whipped, or inflicted any other grievous punishment

upon them, they would have undergone it with patience, confessing their offences, and lauding his uprightness and justice.

Her Majesty, out of her experience of his wise and prudent government, was pleased (upon complaint made unto her, of the many discords and disorders that were in the two cathedral churches of Lichfield and Hereford) to make choice of him alone, amongst a number of worthy prelates, for redress thereof; directing two commissions unto him for the visiting of the said churches, which accordingly he did, and reformed them both (being very far out of order) and ordained them statutes for their better and more peaceable government afterwards.

These his courses thus held for his government, and reforming both of church and people, gained him so general an opinion and liking in the lifetime, and disgrace of Archbishop Grindall, that her Majesty designed him Archbishop of Canterbury, as was signified unto him, and earnestly wished by some of his honourable friends about the Queen, and also by Archbishop Grindall himself much desired, who, out of the great estimation he had conceived of his government, and other his many virtues, and worthy parts, and by reason of his own years and infirmity, laboured him in like earnest manner, presently to accept thereof, being himself well contented to shake off those cares, and receive from her Majesty some yearly pension; which Bishop Whitgift utterly refused, and in presence of the Queen herself besought pardon in not accepting thereof upon any condition whatsoever in the lifetime of the other. Whereupon the Queen commiserating the good old man's estate (being a grave and learned father of the church; and at that time blind with years and grief) was graciously pleased to

to say, "That as she had made him an Archbishop, so he should die an Archbishop," as he did shortly after [9].

Upon whose decease, Bishop Whitgift receiving letters from a great Counsellor for his repair unto the court; and the speech thereof, together with the report of Archbishop Grindall's death, being spread abroad, you would have wondered to have seen the repair, and flocking of gentlemen and others, unto him, both out of Worcestershire, and the Marches of Wales, not to congratulate his advancement (which they upon such his preparation to the court, conjectured was to follow) but to express their true love, and hearty affection towards him, and to beseech him not to depart from thence; and so with tears and sobs took their leave of him, as kind-natured children use to part from their parents, whose face they are out of hope ever to see again. Plutarch observeth, that it falleth out very seldom with magistrates, and those who are in authority, that they should please the multitude, or be acceptable to the common people; because they, striving still to reform the disordered, do grieve them as much as surgeons do their patients, when they bind up their aches with bands to cure them. For though by that binding they restore and bring to their natural places again the broken bones, and members out of joint, yet put they the patient to great pain. But this Bishop was not so boisterous a surgeon, for he had learned the art of curing the diseases of a commonwealth, from a more skilful surgeon, even from him that taught, that as wine was to be poured into the wound to search, so oil was also necessary to supple, but both expedient

[9] *Shortly after.*] Grindal died July 6. 1583. Strype's *Life of Grindal*, p. 289.

for

for the cure. And therefore as he always resolutely endeavoured the redress of the ill-affected, so with an excellent temper of rare mildness, he ever effected it without exasperation of those, whose good he was desirous to procure. For which singular mixture of two so requisite virtues in a magistrate, he was most worthily, and most happily, both for the church and commonwealth, advanced from the Bishoprick of Worcester, to the Archbishoprick of Canterbury, September 24. 1583.

At his first entrance he found the Archbishoprick surcharged in the valuation, and procured an order out of the Exchequer, for the abatement of one hundred pounds, for him, and his successors, in the payment of his first-fruits. He also shortly after recovered from the Queen, as part of the possessions of the Archbishoprick, Long-Beachwood in Kent, containing above a thousand acres of land, which had been many years detained from his predecessor by Sir James Croft, then Comptroller of her Majesty's Houshold, Farmer thereof to her Majesty. In letting leases of his impropriations, if he found the curates wages but small, he would abate much of his fine to encrease their pensions, some ten pounds by the year, some more, some less, as at Folkstone, Maidstone, and others.

But to leave these particular affairs, and to come to those public employments, for which he was specially made Archbishop; her Majesty fearing the danger that might ensue by the assembly of divers ministers to exercises, and prophecying, (as they termed it) straightly charged him to be vigilant, and careful for the reducing of them, and all other ministers by their subscription and conformity, to the settled orders, and government; adding, that she would have the discipline of the church of England formerly established, of all men duly

duly to be observed, without alteration of the least ceremony; conceiving belike, that these novelists might have wrought the same mischief here, which the turbulent orators of Lacedemonia did in that commonwealth, so wisely settled by Lycurgus's laws; which whilst they took upon them to amend, they miserably defaced and deformed. The inconvenience of which kind of reforming, that prudent and judicious Queen had learned out of the poet Aratus's answer to one who asked him, how he might have Homer's poems free from corruptions, and faults? "Get" (saith he) "an old copy not reformed: for curious wits labouring to amend things well done, commonly either quite mar them, or at least make them worse." (Diog. Laert. de vit. Philos.)

The Archbishop endeavouring to perform this her Majesty's commandment, had notwithstanding much ado, and many conflicts with them For they had gotten such strength by his predecessor's connivency, that many of them were then planted both within his province, and particular diocese: in whose favour sundry gentlemen of the chiefest account there came to entreat the Archbishop; and some of the younger sort would needs argue and dispute matters in controversy in their behalf. But he gave so good satisfaction unto them all by his mild and temperate answers (albeit he yielded not unto their requests) that they loved him after; some of the chiefest of them preferring their sons unto him, and the rest performing many kind offices and services towards him.

The next year following, (Decemb. 1584). for farther satisfaction of some of the greatest, and most honourable counsellors of state in these points, the two Archbishops, and the Bishop of Winchester were pleased to hear the reasons of some ministers that

that refused to conform themselves unto the orders of the church established. At which time albeit the said learned prelates sufficiently cleared all their doubts, and exceptions; yet after this, these honourable personages affying much in the sufficiency and scholarship of some others, not yet dealt withal, and supposing that they had been able to have said much more in defence of themselves, and the impeaching of the ecclesiastical government established (for so they were born in hand) were desirous to hear at Lambeth the controversies further debated on both sides. Whereunto the Archbishop, for their satisfaction yielded; and after four hours conference spent, these honourable personages professed, that they would not have believed that the Archbishop's grounds and reasons had been so good and strong, and the others so weak and trivial, but that they heard them once and again with their own ears; and so, they said they would inform her Majesty; seeming to be there well resolved; and also persuaded the ministers to conformity.

Howbeit afterwards, when those honourable personages saw that they might not sway (as formerly in the restraint of Archbishop Grindall) and prefer whom they listed unto ecclesiastical promotions; they with some others linked themselves against the Archbishop, and gave him, (being yet no counsellor of state) many thwarts at the council board; wherewith he was so much perplexed, and grieved to see things thus carried, as thereupon advising with some of his honourable friends (whose assistance he knew might avail him) if their affections were not otherwise overswayed by the potency of so great personages, he thus imparted his mind in several letters, as followeth.

"God

" God knoweth how desirous I have been, from time to time, to have my doings approved by my ancient and honourable friends. For which cause, since my coming to this place, I have done nothing of importance against these sectaries, without good advice. I have risen up early, and sate up late, to yield reasons, and make answer to their contentions and their seditious objections. And shall I now say, I have lost my labour? Or shall my just dealing with disobedient and irregular persons, cause my former professed and ancient friends, to hinder my just proceedings, and make them speak of my doings, yea and of myself, what they list? Solomon saith, that an old friend is better than a new. I trust those that love me indeed will not so lightly cast off their old friends for any of these new fangled and factious sectaries, whose fruits are to make division, and to separate old, and assured friends. In mine own private affairs I know I shall stand in need of friends; but, in these public actions, I see no cause why I should seek friends, seeing they, to whom the care of the commonwealth is committed, ought, of duty, therein to join with me. And if my honourable friends should forsake me (especially in so good a cause) and not put their helping hand to the redress of these enormities (being indeed a matter of state, and not of the least moment) I shall think my coming unto this place to have been for my punishment, and my hap very hard, that, when I think to deserve best, and, in a manner, consume myself to satisfy that, which God, her Majesty, and the church, requireth of me, I should be evilly rewarded. Sed meliora spero.

" It is objected by some, that my desire of uniformity, by way of subscription, is for the better maintenance

maintenance of my book. They are mine enemies that say so; but I trust my friends have a better opinion of me. Why should I seek for any confirmation of my book after twelve years approbation? or what shall I get thereby more than already I have? And yet, if subscription may confirm it, it is confirmed long ago by the subscription [1] almost of all the clergy of England before my time. Mine enemies likewise, and the slanderous tongues of this uncharitable sect, report that I am revolted, become a Papist, and I know not what. But it proceedeth from their lewdness, and not from any desert of mine. I am further burthened with wilfulness. I hope my friends are better persuaded of me, to whose consciences I appeal. It is strange, that a man of my place, dealing by so good warrant as I do, should be so encountered, and, for not yielding, be counted wilful. But I must be content; Vincit qui patitur. There is a difference betwixt wilfulness and constancy. I have taken upon me, by the place which I hold under her Majesty, the defence of the religion, and the rites of the church of England, to appease the schisms and sects therein, to reduce all the ministers thereof to uniformity, and to due obedience, and not to waver with every wind; which also my place, my person, my duty, the laws, her Majesty, and the goodness of the cause do require of me, and wherein the Lords of her Highness's most Honourable Privy Council (all things considered) ought in duty to assist and countenance me. But how is it possible that I should perform the charge which I have undertaken,

[1] *By the subscription.*] "Subscription to the Queen's Supremacy, the thirty-nine Articles, and the Book of Common Prayer, that had been long before now enjoined and submitted to." Strype's *Life of Whitgift*. p. 57.

dertaken, after so long liberty, and lack of discipline, if a few persons, so meanly qualified (as most of these factious sectaries are) should be countenanced against the whole state of the clergy of greatest account both for learning, years, staidness, wisdom, religion, and honesty; and open breakers and impugners of the law, young in years, proud in conceit, contentious in disposition, should be maintained against their governors, seeking to reduce them to order, and to obedience? *Hæc sunt initia hæreticorum, & ortus, atque conatus schismaticorum malè cogitantium, ut sibi placeant, ut præpositum superbo tumore contemnant. Sic de ecclesia recceditur, sic altare profanum foris collocatur, sic contra pacem Christi, & ordinationem, atque unitatem Dei rebellatur.* The first fruits of heretics, and the first births and endeavours of schismatics are these, to admire themselves, and in their swelling pride to contemn any that are set over them. Thus do men fall from the church of God; thus is a foreign unhallowed altar erected; and thus is Christ's peace, and God's ordination and unity rebelled against. For mine own part, I neither have done, nor do any thing in these matters, which I do not think myself in conscience and duty bound to do, and which her Majesty hath not with earnest charge committed unto me, and which I am not well able to justify to be most requisite for this church and state; whereof, next to her Majesty (though most unworthy, or at the least most unhappy) the chief care is committed unto me; which I will not by the grace of God neglect, whatsoever come upon me therefore. Neither may I endure their notorious contempts, unless I will become Æsop's block, and undo all that which hitherto hath been done. And how then shall I be able to perform my duty, according to her Majesty's expectation?

tation? It is certain, that if way be given unto them, upon their unjust surmises and clamours, it will be the cause of that confusion, which hereafter the state will be sorry for. I neither care for the honour of this place I hold (which is onus unto me) nor the largeness of the revenue, neither any worldly thing (I thank God) in respect of doing my duty; neither do I fear the displeasure of man, nor the evil tongue of the uncharitable, who call me Tyrant, Pope, Knave[2], and lay to my charge things that I never did, nor thought. *Scio enim hoc esse opus diaboli, ut servos Dei mendaciis laceret, & opinionibus falsis, gloriosum nomen infamet; ut qui conscientiæ suæ luce clarescunt, alienis rumoribus sordidentur.* For I know that this is the work of that accuser, the Devil, that he may tear in pieces the servants of God with lies, that he may dishonour their glorious name with false surmises, that they, who through the clearness of their own conscience, are shining bright, might have the filth of other mens' slanders cast upon them. So was Cyprian himself used, and other godly Bishops, to whom I am not comparable. But that which most of all grieveth me, and is to be wondered at, and lamented, is, that some of those which give countenance to these men, and cry out for a learned ministry, should watch their opportunity, and be instruments and means to place most unlearned men in the chiefest places and livings of the ministry, thereby to make the state of the Bishops and Clergy contemptible, and I fear saleable. This hypocrisy and dissembling with God and man (in pretending one thing, and doing another) goeth to my heart, and maketh me to think that God's

[2] *Tyrant, Pope, Knave.*] Compare Bancroft's *Dangerous Positions, under pretence of Reformation.* Book. II. chap. 12.

judgments are not far off. The day will come, when all mens' hearts shall be opened. In the mean time I will depend upon him, who never faileth those that put their trust in him."

Thus far his letters.

After this he linked himself in a firm league of friendship with Sir Christopher Hatton, then Vice-Chamberlain to the Queen's Majesty; and by the means of Dr. Bancroft (his then Houshold Chaplain, and afterwards Lord Archbishop of Canterbury) had him most firm, and ready upon all occasions to impart unto the Queen, as well the crosses offered him at the council-table, as also sundry impediments, whereby he was hindered from the performance of many good services towards her Majesty and the state. He had always the Lord Burghley (then Lord Treasurer of England) his firm and constant friend, and one that would omit no opportunity for his advancement; who prevailed so far, that when the Earl of Leicester (one of those honourable personages afore-mentioned) was in the Low Countries, the Archbishop, and the Lord Cobham, were first sworn Counsellors[3] of

[3] *Sworn Counsellors.*] This was in February 1585. Fuller, in his Church History, Book ix. p. 197, gives the following account of Whitgift's discharge of this new dignity. "Archbishop Whitgift repaired daily to the Council Table, early in the morning, and after an usual appreciation of a *Good-morrow* to the Lords, he requested to know if there were any Church business to be debated; and if the answer was returned in the affirmative, he stayed and attended the issue of the matter. But if no such matter appeared, he craved leave to be dispensed withal, saying, *Then, my Lords, here is no need of me;* and departed. A commendable practice, clearing himself from all aspersions of civil pragmaticalness, and tending much to the just support of his reputation."

State,

State, and Thomas Lord Buckhurst was sworn the day after, whereat the Earl was not a little displeased. The Lord Buckhurst was joined in like affection to the Archbishop as the other two were, and continued after he came to be Lord Treasurer, his faithful and loving friend to the time of his death.

When the Archbishop was thus established in friendship with these noble personages, as aforesaid, their favours, and his place, wrought him free access to the Queen, and gracious acceptance of his motions in the church's behalf. His courses then at the council-board were not so much crossed nor impeached as heretofore: but by reason of his daily attendance and access, he then oftentimes gave impediment to the Earl's designments in clergy causes.

About this time (April 12. 1587). Sir Thomas Bromely (the then Lord Chancellor) died; whereupon it pleased her Majesty to discover her gracious inclination to have made the Archbishop Lord Chancellor of England. But he excusing himself in many respects, that he was grown into years, and had the burthen of all ecclesiastical businesses laid upon his back (which was as much as one man could well undergo, considering the troubles with so many sectaries that were then sprung up) desired to be spared, and besought her Highness to make choice of Sir Christopher Hatton, who shortly after was made Lord Chancellor in the Archbishop's house at Croydon, thereby the rather to grace the Archbishop. His advancement did much strengthen the Archbishop and his friends; and withal, the Earl of Leicester and his designments, came soon after to an end. For, the year following, taking his journey to Kenelworth, he died in the way at Cornbury Park, whereby the

Archbishop

Archbishop took himself freed from much opposition.

Upon the death of the said Earl, the Chancellorship of Oxford being void, divers of the heads and others of the University, made known unto the Archbishop their desire to chuse him their Chancellor, although he was a Cambridge man. To whom he returned this answer, That he was already their friend, whereof they might rest assured; and therefore advised them to make choice of some other in near place about the Queen, that might assist him on their behalf: and both at the council-board, and other places of justice, right them many ways, both for the benefit of the University, and their particular colleges. And therewithal recommended unto them Sir Christopher Hatton, being sometime of that University; whom accordingly they did chuse for their Chancellor, and whom the Archbishop ever found a great assistant in bridling and reforming the intemperate humour of these novelists, who by the countenance of the aforesaid great personages (Earl of Leicester, &c.) were now grown to a strong head.

For, in the year 1588, came forth those hateful libels[4] of *Martin Marprelate;* and much about the same time, the *Epitome;* the *Demonstration of Discipline;* the *Supplication; Diotrephes;* the *Minerals; Have you any Work for a Cooper; Martin Junior*, alias *Theses Martinianæ; Martin Senior; More Work for a Cooper;* and other such like bastardly pamphlets, which might well be *Nullius filii*, because no man durst father their births. All which

[4] *Hateful libels.*] For a further account, with extracts and specimens of several of these pamphlets, which perhaps were never surpassed in scurrility and malignity, see Strype's *Life of Whitgift.* p. 288—290. 298—309. Bancroft's *Dangerous Positions.* book II. chap. 3—14.

were

were printed with a kind of wandering press, which was first set up at Moulsey, near Kingston upon Thames, and from thence conveyed to Fausly in Northamptonshire, and from thence to Norton, afterwards to Coventry, from thence to Welstone in Warwickshire, from which place the letters were sent to another press in or near Manchester, where (by the means of Henry, that good Earl of Derby) the press was discovered in printing of *More Work for a Cooper*. Which shameless libels were fraughted only with odious and scurrilous calumniations against the established government, and such reverend prelates as deserved honour with uprighter judgments.

Some of the printers, whilst they were busied about the last libel, were apprehended; who, with the entertainers, and receivers of the press, were proceeded against in the Star-chamber, and there censured; but upon their submission (at the humble suit of the Archbishop) were both delivered out of prison, and eased of their fines. The authors and penners of some of these libels were, John Penry and John Udall; the chief disperser of them was Humphrey Newman, a cobler, a choice broker for such sowterly wares, and in regard of his hempenly trade, a fit person to cherish up Martin's birds, who (as Pliny writeth) do feed so greedily upon hemp-seed, that they be oftentimes choaked therewith. Such was the unfortunate end of some of his Martin birds; as appeareth upon record in the King's-Bench, against John Penry, Clerk, *Termino Pasch.* 1593, and at an assize in Surrey against John Udall, whose pardon the Archbishop afterwards obtained.

Thus the factious ministers, zealous of pretended discipline, having with these seditious libels (as the fore-rangers and harbingers of their further designs)

designs) made way in the hearts of the vulgar (who ever are apt to entertain novelties, though it be with danger and detriment to themselves; and specially if it have a shew of restraining the authority of their superiors) they thought it the fittest time to prosecute their projects. And while one sort of them were maliciously busied in slandering the state of the church already settled, the other were as seditiously employed in planting the discipline which they had newly plotted. Whereupon shortly after Thomas Cartwright, and Edmund Snape, with others, were called in question, and proceeded withal in the Star-chamber, for setting forth, and putting in practice (without warrant or authority) a new form of common prayer[s], and administration of the sacraments and presbyterial discipline. The particularities of which their dangerous plots, and positions (though most secretly carried amongst men only of their own combination) were by Dr. Bancroft first discovered, and by the Archbishop and the Lord Chancellor farther brought to light, as the records themselves in the Star-chamber do testify, and may at large appear in Doctor Bancroft's *Survey of the Pretended Discipline;* and *Dangerous Positions under pretence of Reformation:* Wherein also you shall see these disciplinarians to exceed other ministers, from whom they have their presbyterial platform, in threatening, railing, and undutiful speeches, against their sovereign, the high court of parliament, the most honourable privy council, the Archbishops and Bishops, the reverend Judges of the land, and lawyers of both

[s] *Form of common prayer.*] "A booke of the Forme of Common Prayers, Administration of the Sacraments, &c. agreeable to God's worde, and the use of the reformed Churches; Middleburgh 1586." 12mo.

professions: and generally against all magistrates, and other inferior ministers of justice, and officers under them, that do maintain the present government of the church of England, and withstand their desire.

It was therefore high time for the Archbishop and state to look strictly to these perturbers of our church's happy quiet. But if we shall take a further view of those enormous, and desperate courses, which after ensued (though all branches growing out of the same root) we shall be far from accusing either the Archbishop of too much vigilancy, or the civil magistrates of overmuch severity, in cutting off some of those outrageous and unbridled sectaries.

Three principal there were among them deeply infatuated with this reforming spirit; William Hacket, Yeoman; Edmund Coppinger, and Henry Arthington, Gentlemen; all of them strongly possessed, at the first, with an earnest desire of the late invented discipline, and carried violently with the strength of their erroneous fancy, into a desperate and lamentable course; whereof, though I will suppose that many are innocent, who were led with the same spirit and desire of reformation with them in the beginning; yet I am induced by just and weighty reasons to conceive, that, unless the vigilancy of the Magistrates had timely prevented their courses, the intemperate zeal of these novelists, finding no certain ground to stay itself upon, nor any determinate end where it might finally rest, would have broken out into some like combustion, and flame, as these aforenamed did, whereof I will give you but a little taste. Two of these, Edmund Coppinger and Henry Arthington, came into Cheapside, July 16, 1591, and there in a cart proclaimed news from Heaven, to wit, "That one William

William Hacket, yeoman, represented Christ, by partaking his glorious body in his principal spirit; and that they were two prophets, the one of mercy, the other of judgment, called and sent of God to assist him in his great work, &c." But because the weight of the matter requireth a larger discourse than is fit to be inserted in this work, I refer the reader for the rest unto Doctor Cosin's book, intituled *Conspiracy for Pretended Reformation:* where he shall find their purposes, plots, and designments, with many other markable things at large discoursed, and taken truly out of their conference and writings under their own hands, with their confessions and examinations, subscribed by themselves before sundry honourable and worshipful personages, of great gravity and wisdom, employed in those affairs. By all which, together with their temperate, direct, and pertinent speech, and congruity of phrase and matter, both before and after their apprehension, it will clearly appear, that the said conspirators were not madmen (unless it be a kind of madness to be a violent * prosecutor of this reformation, as indeed it is) howsoever some of that fraternity and sect have so given it out; chusing thereby rather to accuse the honourable justice of the realm, and all the ministers thereof, than that any, professing desire of pretended reformation, should be noted with deep disloyalty, as they were charged withal.

When the Queen and State saw the incredible height of these audacious attempts, so dangerous to the commonwealth, thus knotted and countenanced under pretence of reforming the Church, they found it necessary to stop the fountains of these proceedings, lest it might grow to the like

* Promoter.

outrage. Amongst whom there were very forward to the like presumption Henry Barrow, Gentleman, and John Greenwood, Clerk, who were convented before the High Commissioners for causes ecclesiastical, in November 1587, for their schismatical and seditious opinions, viz. That our Church is no Church, or at the least, no true Church; yielding these reasons therefore: First, That the worship of the English Church is flat idolatry. Secondly, That we admit into our Church persons unsanctified. Thirdly, That our preachers have no lawful calling. Fourthly, That our government is ungodly. Fifthly, That no Bishop or preacher preacheth Christ sincerely and truly. Sixthly, That the people of every parish ought to chuse their Bishop; and that every elder, though he be no doctor nor pastor, is a Bishop. Seventhly, That all the precise, which refuse the ceremonies of the Church, and yet preach in the same Church, strain at a gnat and swallow a camel; and are close hypocrites, and walk in a left-handed policy; as Master Cartwright, Wiggington, &c. also in Norwich, Master Moare, Pawmone, and Burgess: That all which make catechisms, or teach and expound printed and written catechisms, are idol shepherds; as Calvin, Ursin, Nowell, &c. That the child of ungodly parents ought not to be baptised, as of usurers, drunkards, &c. nor any bastards. That set prayer is blasphemous.

The foresaid broachers of these opinions at this their first convention made shew of their conformity upon conference with some divines; and in hope thereof, were enlarged upon bonds; but all in vain. For after their liberty they burst forth into further extremities, and were again committed to the Fleet, July 20, 1588, where they published their scandalous and seditious writings; for which they

they were proceeded withall at Justice-Hall, near Newgate in London, March 21, 1592.

For suppressing this kind of people (which as you see were grown unto a great height of violence and outrage) the State held it fit at the next Parliament following to make a law of abjuration, or banishment, of such as should either persuade others, or be present themselves at these their conventicles or meetings, which law is entituled "An Act to restrain the Queen's Majesty's Subjects in their due obedience."

Let the reader now consider with what contagion and leprosy many poor souls had like to have been infected through the divulging of their wicked libels and dangerous positions, tending to innovation and rebellion, had not the stroke of justice, and providence of the state, wisely prevented the same, selecting out of an hundred thousand seditious mutineers (for so many they confessed were ready for that purpose) only four persons, as the chief ringleaders, whose lot it was to be proceeded withal, for the quenching of the fiery outrage of the rest, kindled already to the like attempts as those in Germany of the cabinet-teachers and reformers, both at Mulhusin, and Munster in Westphalia; which seditions could not be appeased till fifty thousand of them were killed and cut in pieces by the united forces of most of the princes of the empire. And though some, not of the greatest foresight, may think that the fear which our Archbishop conceived of dangers to ensue out of these sectaries attempts, was far greater than there was just cause, yet the examples of those foreign pretenders of like reformation as is aforesaid, compared with these our reformers designs, taught him not to be without fear, or care for preventing these dangerous events at home. For all their intend-

ments

ments sorted to one end, viz. Reformation, and to be brought to pass by one and the self-same means, viz. by commotion of the unbridled multitude.

For was it not in their assemblies classical and synodical concluded, "That the discipline should, within a time limited, be put in practice, and erected all in one day by the ministers together with the people? whom these disciplinarians bragged to be already inflamed with zeal to lend so many thousand hands for the advancement of their cause, by whom they hoped and said, such reformation must be brought in. And how, I pray you did they incense the common people, not only in their private conventicles, (decreeing that the Queen's authority ought to be restrained in causes ecclesiastical,) but in their public sermons and exhortations; alienating the hearts of their auditors from all obedience of the ecclesiastical magistrates? As namely, Master Cartwright, who saith, That no obedience ought to be given unto them, either in doing that which they command, or abstaining from that which they prohibit: and that it should not be lawful for any one of the brotherhood to take an oath, whereby he may discover any thing prejudicial to himself or his brother, especially if he be persuaded the matter to be lawful for which the punishment is like to be inflicted; or, having taken it, he need not discover the very truth. And in his prayer before his sermons he used thus to say: "Because they (meaning the Bishops) which ought to be pillars in the Church do band themselves against Christ and his truth, therefore, O Lord, give us grace and power, all, as one man, to set ourselves against them." Which words, by way of emphasis, he would often repeat. And how, I pray you, doth Penry, in his *Supplication to the Parliament*, incite both the Lords and Commons,

mons, threatening them with plagues and bloodshed, if they gathered not courage and zeal? And withal, scoffing at their unwillingness hitherto for disturbing of the state, forsooth, to set upon the hierarchy of the Bishops; telling them, if they refused so to do, they should declare unto their children, "That God had raised up but a company of white-livered soldiers to teach them the Gospel in the sincerity under Queen Elizabeth." And doth not Udall threaten that the Presbytery shall prevail, and come in by that way and means, as shall make all their hearts to ach, that shall withstand or hinder the same?"

And when, I pray you[6], were these classical assemblies, and these seditious stirs and hurly-burlies of Martinists, and that reforming sect put in practice? In the year 1588, at that time when the invincible Spanish Navy (as some vainly termed it) was upon our coasts, and should have invaded us, albeit it was by the gracious providence of our omnipotent God prevented, and their ships so dispersed as that no enemy was able to put foot on English shore but as a prisoner or captive. At which time, as the care of her Majesty for the preparation of forces to encounter and resist them was very great, so might her grief also be to be-

[6] *And when, I pray you.*] The Puritans, alleging the greatness of their numbers, and pleading for privileges and indulgences, as the price of their uniting to repel the foreign enemy, Bancroft demands of them, "Why, wanting your desires, would you have taken no part, if the Spaniard had come? Or purposed you to have made a more ready passage for him, by rebelling at home, before he should have come? Or would you have joined with him if he had come? Or meant you thereby, through terror, to have inforced her Majesty to your purposes, least you should have taken some of these courses? Chuse which of them you list: the best is seditious." *Dangerous Positions.* Book IV. Chap. 3.

hold

hold a discord and dissention of her own subjects within her realm. The Archbishop also himself had not the meanest part to perform in so great and weighty an action, when the whole forces of the clergy, not only within his particular diocese, but through his whole province, were committed unto his care and charge, to have in readiness, besides his own family and tenants, which were by him gathered together, and all prepared, mustered, and trained for defence of prince and country.

Now of the aforesaid stirs and seditious attempts of sundry persons in this our Archbishop's time, that Master Cartwright was the fountain and principal author it may appear by sundry passages, and also by the opinion and dependencies which all the afore-named had upon him, especially in their proceedings, as their conferences and conventicles do sufficiently declare, which are extant in the records of the Star-chamber, whence I have taken my chiefest instructions in this behalf. The recourse of Hacket, Coppinger, and Arthington unto him and his fraternity, and the vain conceits of extraordinary callings which they were put into, both by speech and letters, and the opinion which they all three conceived of Master Cartwright by name, both before and after their apprehension, may appear sufficiently, both by the records, and books published [7], whereof mention is already made. That Penry, Udall, and the rest of the libellers, were of his consort, by his sight of divers of the books, and knowledge both of the authors and publishers, and his not revealing them to the state, he could not deny, being examined thereupon. And that he approved their hateful libels it appeared by his own

[7] *Books published.*] Doctor Bancroft's two Books; and Cosin's *Conspiracy for Pretended Reformation.*

words;

words; when, being asked his opinion of such books, he said, "Seeing the Bishops, and others there touched, would not amend by grave books and advertisements, it was therefore meet they should be dealt withal to their further reproach." Which was not unsuitable to one of his own decrees in a synod, where it was determined, "That no books should be put in print but by consent of the classes; that some of those books must be earnest, some more mild and temperate; whereby they may be both of the spirit of Elias and Elizeus."

That Barrow and Greenwood were so infected with his grounds and opinions which brought them unto their fatal ends, shall manifestly appear unto you upon Barrow's own confession. For when Doctor Ravis (then Chaplain to the Archbishop, and late Lord Bishop of London) at the earnest desire of Barrow himself, and direction of the Archbishop, dealt with Master Cartwright to confer with Barrow, they being then both prisoners in the Fleet: Master Cartwright (having been once before with him at the entreaty of Master Sperin, a minister) would by no means be drawn to further conference with him again: which his refusal, when it was by Doctor Ravis signified to Barrow, in the presence of divers of good reputation and account, he fetched a great sigh, saying, "And will he not? Hath he only brought me into this brake, and will he now leave me? For from him received I my grounds, and out of his premises did I infer, and make the conclusion of the positions which I now hold, and for which I suffer bands."

Again, when sentence of death was given against the said Barrow, Doctor Andrews (now Lord Bishop of Ely), Doctor Bisse, and Doctor White, were sent unto him to counsel him for his soul's health. There also accompanied them Doctor Parry, now Lord

Lord Bishop of Worcester. After many passages of speech with Doctor White (unto whom he then seemed especially to address himself) he brake forth into these words. "You are not the men [8] whom I most dislike in these differences. For although you be out of the way, yet you think you are in the right. But I cannot but complain of Master Cartwright and others of his knowledge, from whom we have received the truth of these things, and have been taught that your callings are antichristian, who yet utterly against their consciences forsake us in our sufferings, and will not come out of Babylon for fear of their lives." It being farther replied by Doctor White, that those callings which Barrow reproached as antichristian were the very same which Archbishop Cranmer, and Ridley, and many other holy Bishops, &c. (that suffered martyrdom in Queen Mary's time) did embrace; Barrow replied in this vain-glorious manner: "True it is that Cranmer and others were martyrs in Queen Mary's days, but these holy bands of mine (and therewithal shook the fetters which he did wear) are much more glorious than any of theirs, because they had the mark of Antichrist in their hands." Thus he, in Newgate at that time, in the presence of many, with great insolency, did triumph.

Men therefore, not partially affected, may hereby observe and conceive what danger innovation bringeth to the people, and what hazard to a state; when, by little and little, it encreaseth like the swelling or flowing of the sea, which if it surpass the bounds wherewith it was confined, or gain never so small a breach, it spreadeth itself over a whole

[8] *You are not the men.*] Compare Hooker's Pref. to *Eccles. Polity.* §. 8.

country,

country, and groweth to that violence and stream that it cannot by any contrary force be kept back, but without pity or mercy putteth all things to wreck where it rageth. Which, as it seemeth, Master Cartwright himself did now find, when, after his first conference, he perceived how impossible it was for him to make up the breach which he had unfortunately begun; for that Barrow, like a tempestuous surge, would have forced him (by finding his own oversight and errors) back again from his former positions, or drawn him inevitably to his conclusions.

And therefore observable it is, that Master Cartwright, having upon his first discontentment (as hath been delivered) made a desperate assault and breach in Sion's peaceable and blessed city, now like a sly captain did steal away secretly (after summons given) from his own siege, fearing upon his entry by the force and press of his own soldiers to be environed and kept within the walls (as Pyrrhus was) to the loss of his life; or doubting belike the outrage and violence of his army, whose fury he could not have appeased when he list, but have been enforced (as Titus was) to see his soldiers sack, spoil, and burn the holy city of Jerusalem, though he vehemently laboured, and with great earnestness cried out unto them (whom yet himself first set on work) to save the sanctuary of the Lord, but could not be heard, or at least was not able to stop their rage and fury, until it was with fire consumed and destroyed.

Not much differing from the said positions of Barrow and Greenwood were the opinions of Robert Brown (sometime of Bennet College, in Cambridge) from whom that sect beareth the name even to this day. But because in this Archbishop's time the said Brown was changed from those fancies, and afterwards

afterwards obtained a benefice called Achurch, in Northamptonshire, (where he became a painful preacher) I will not much insist upon him.

I let pass many like schisms in other parts of the realm which this good Archbishop suppressed, and the controversies [9] in both Universities, which by his wisdom were appeased; as also the reverend opinion which divers honourable personages had of him for his great temper and moderation in handling these businesses towards some of great place (whose reputations, if he would, he might have blemished with her Majesty, for favouring the said libellers and libels, which had stowage and vent in their chambers,) as also in procuring, at her Majesty's hands, both pardon and dismissal for Master Cartwright and the rest out of their troubles.

For which, and sundry other his favours, Master Cartwright held himself much obliged unto him, as he confessed in his letters, written with his own hand to that effect. In which letters he is also pleased to vouchsafe him the stile of a "Right Reverend Father in God, and his Lord the Archbishop's Grace of Canterbury." Which title of

[9] *And the controversies.*] Such as those respecting Barret and Baro at Cambridge; the drawing up of the Lambeth Articles; the support which he gave to Dr. Howson, the Vice-Chancellor at Oxford; the disputes between Hooker and Travers at the Temple, &c. &c. all of which are deserving of the attention of the student of Ecclesiastical History.

The best account of the disputes respecting Barret and Baro, and of the compiling the Lambeth Articles, may be found in Strype's Life of Whitgift, and in a manuscript, formerly belonging to that Archbishop, now in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge (B. 14. 9.) See also *Hist. of the Lambeth Articles*, subjoined to Ellis's and Ford's Expositions of the 39 Articles. Of Dr. Howson, &c. See Wood's *Annals*, Vol. II. p. 271—278. A. D. 1602. The disputes between Hooker and Travers are sufficiently related in the preceding Life of Hooker.

Grace

Grace he also often yieldeth him throughout his letters, acknowledging his "bond of most humble duty so much the straighter, because his Grace's favour proceeded from a frank disposition, without any desert of his own." Yea the Archbishop hath often been heard to say, That if Master Cartwright had not so far engaged himself as he did in the beginning, he thought verily he would in his latter time have been drawn to conformity [1]. For when he was freed from his troubles he often repaired to the Archbishop, who used him kindly, and was contented to tolerate his preaching in Warwick divers years, upon his promise that he would not impugn the laws, orders, and government in this Church

[1] *Been drawn to conformity.*] That Brown, the founder of the sect called by his name, the first separatists from the Church of England, afterwards conformed, and lived for many years a Minister of that Church, which by his zeal and authority he had induced a multitude of followers to renounce as Anti-Christian, and as a congregation with which it was unlawful to hold religious communion, is a fact universally acknowledged. It is equally certain, that Cartwright, the great leader of the Puritans, in his later years, grew much more temperate, and repented of the heat, and the narrow principles which he had so vehemently and so extensively espoused and propagated. In truth, he became himself a controversialist in behalf of the established Church of England. See Bancroft's *Survey of the Pretended Holy Discipline.* p. 447—449. And more particularly in the Lambeth Library, MSS. No. 113, is a long controversial paper written by him against Robert Brown, and pleading for conformity to the Church. "And now at the end of Cartwright's Life, to take our leave of him with a fairer character, it is remarkable what a noble and learned man (Sir H. Yelverton in his Epistle to the Reader, before Bishop Moreton's *Episcopacy Justified*) writes of some of his last words—'that he seriously lamented the unnecessary trouble he had caused in the Church, by the Schism he had been the great fomenter of; and wished that he was to begin his life again, that he might testify to the world the dislike he had of his former ways.' And in this opinion he died." Strype's *Life of Whitgift.* p. 554.

of

of England, but persuade and procure so much as he could, both publicly and privately, the estimation and peace of the same. Which albeit he accordingly performed; yet when her Majesty understood by others that Master Cartwright did preach again (though temperately, according to his promise made to the Archbishop) she would by no means endure his preaching any longer without subscription, and grew not a little offended with the Archbishop for such connivency at him. Not long after Master Cartwright died rich, as it was said, by the benevolence and bounty of his followers [a].

After

[a] *Bounty of his followers.*] Of the ways and steps by which the Puritan Ministers obtained their extraordinary popularity and influence, the Reader may find an incomparable description, forming a most instructive moral picture, in the third section of Hooker's Preface to his Ecclesiastical Polity.

Cartwright complaining of the persecution and hard treatment he met with on account of his opinions, Whitgift reminds him, "What commodities you want, that I have I cannot conjecture. Your meat and drink is provided with less charges and trouble unto you, and in more delicate and dainty manner, than mine is. Your ease and pleasure ten times more. You do what you list, you go when you list, you come when you list, speak when you list, at your pleasure. What would you have more? I know not why you should complain, except you be of the same disposition with the Franciscan Friars, who when they have filled their bellies at other mens' tables, were wont to cry out, and say, *How many things are we forced to endure!*" Whitgift's *Defence*. p. 283. Sandys, Bishop of of London, thus expresses himself in a letter to the Lord Treasurer Burghley. "There is a Conventicle, or rather a conspiracy breeding in London. Certain men of sundry callings are as it were in commission together, to procure hands for Mr. Cartwright's book, and promise to stand in defence thereof untill death.—The city will never be quiet untill these authors of sedition, who are now esteemed as Gods, as Field, Wilcox, Cartwright, and others, be far removed from the city. The People resort unto them, as in Popery they were wont to run on Pilgrimage. If these Idols who are honoured for Saints,

After these stirs, thus suppressed, they began to tamper with the Earl of Essex, who was grown into a great height of favour with the Queen; and by reason that sundry of his kindred and allies were inclined that way, they so far prevailed with him that he did privily, and far as he durst for fear of the Queen's displeasure, give way and countenance unto them. But upon better consideration, finding by the heady courses of some of them the danger that thereby was like to grow to her Majesty and the state, and the resolution had of all hands to cut them off by the law aforesaid, he grew very calm, and was careful how to carry himself uprightly betwixt both. And yet the Archbishop had still a vigilant eye over him, that he could not, though he would, do any great hurt[1].

For, to say the truth, by this due execution of laws in the beginning, and the provident courses of the Archbishop, with the assistance and painful endeavours of Doctor Bancroft and Doctor Cosin, and the publishing of their learned and unanswerable books, the state of the clergy was in good

Saints, and greatly enriched with gifts, were removed from hence, their honour would fall into the dust. And they would be taken for blocks as they are." Strype's *Life of Whitgift*, p. 19. Records.

[1] *Any great hurt.*] Of this nobleman the following anecdote is told. "When the Bishops (that felt the smart of it) had cried out against that lashing pamphlet, called, Martin Mar-Prelate, and there was a prohibition published, that no man should presume to carry it about him, upon pain of punishment, and the Queen herself did speak as much when the Earl was present, "Why then," said the Earl, "what will become of me?" And pulling the book out of his pocket, he did shew it unto the Queen. I have heard grave men, and of great judgment say that he was the less inclined to Dr. Whitgift, a reverend Divine, and his Tutor also, because he was a Bishop." Codrington's *Life of Robert Earl of Essex*, Harleian Miscellany.

quiet[4], especially so long as Sir Christopher Hatton, the Lord Chancellor, did live.

Immediately after whose death, the Archbishop attending upon her Majesty, and advising with her who was fittest to succeed him in the Chancellorship of Oxford, found her graciously inclined toward the Lord Buckhurst, in whose behalf she presently dispatched her letters to the University, and prevailed: whereat the Earl of Essex was so offended (his friends having laboured exceedingly therein on his behalf) that being then Lord General of her Majesty's forces in France, he made open profession of his dislike of the Archbishop. But upon his return into England, finding how firm her Majesty stood for him, and that his stirring in the matter must needs call in question her Majesty's judgment, did therefore in a temperate manner expostulate the matter with the Archbishop, from whom he received such an answer, as he knew not well whom to be angry withal, unless with the Queen herself, who thought him too young a man (being yet no Counsellor) for so grave a title; and fearing happily lest if she should have committed the guiding of that University unto his young years and unexperienced judgment, some hot and unruly spirits there (like Phaëton's untamed horses) might have carried him in such an headlong course of government as that the sparks of contention, which were then scarce kindled in that University, might have broken forth into open flames, to the

[4] *In good quiet.*] See Geo. Cranmer's Letter to Hooker, p. 294, above. Also Strype's *Life of Whitgift*. p. 520—543. Hervey in a letter to the poet Spenser, written about the year 1580, speaking of the "news at Cambridge," says, "No more ado about Caps and Surplices. Mr. Cartwright quite forgotten. The man you wot of comfortable with a *square* cap on his *round* head." Sir Christopher Hatton died Nov. 20, 1591.

utter

utter destruction and devastation of the whole state ecclesiastical. And besides this, she held the Lord Buckhurst (being an ancient Counsellor and her kinsman) more fit for the place a great deal. And so much it seemed the Queen had told the Earl in justification of the Archbishop before his questioning of the matter with him; for in effect, he acknowledged so much, and thereupon they parted in no unkind terms, but with due respect of each other in very friendly manner. The Queen, not long after, was the mean of their entering into further friendship; having oftentimes recommended unto the Archbishop the Earl's many excellent parts and virtues, which she then thought rare in so young years. And the Earl likewise confessed to the Archbishop, that her Majesty's often speech of her extraordinary opinion of him and his worth was the cause of his seeking after the Archbishop; and therefore did offer to run a course for clergy causes according to his directions and advice, and to cast off the novellists, as indeed he did immediately after Sir Francis Walsingham's death; which was a special cause of the Archbishop's constancy and firmness to the Earl in his disgrace and trouble afterwards.

But now to return to our former course. The Lord Chancellor's death much troubled and perplexed the Archbishop, fearing that new troubles would befall him and the Church. Howbeit, things were then so well and firmly settled that he had no great ado afterwards, saving with their dispersing of pamphlets, and that some few persons (though thanks be to God not powerful) both in court and country, did attempt, as much as in them lay, by motions in Parliament, and bills there preferred, to bring in I know not (nor they themselves) what kind of new government in the Church; but were

prevented by the wisdom of her Majesty, who always suppressed those bills and motions, and still comforted the Archbishop (who was oftentimes much grieved with their causeless complaints) and assured him they should not prevail to do any hurt, except it were to hurt themselves. For she did see in her princely wisdom how dangerous they were to her and all imperial government. And when she found them still bent to pursue such bills and motions, she (to deliver the Archbishop from farther trouble and vexation) before it was expected, and as it were with silence, brake up the Parliament.

After the death of Sir Christopher Hatton, Sir John Puckering was made Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, of whom (because he lived not long) I shall not have occasion to say much: but for ought I ever heard, he shewed himself a friend to the Church, unto the Archbishop and his proceedings, and acknowledged him to have been, amongst his other good friends, a furtherer of his advancement.

Sir Thomas Egerton, Master of the Rolls, succeeded him, May 6, 1596. Her Majesty and the State had long experience of his integrity and wisdom, as may appear by the great places which he worthily held, being first her Highness's Solicitor, and then Attorney-General. In which time (besides his many great and weighty services) he was very careful and industrious in labouring earnestly to suppress the aforesaid libellers; a lover of learning, and most constant favourer of the clergy, and church government established; as also a faithful loving friend to the Archbishop in all his affairs; insomuch, that after his advancement to that honour, and that the Earl of Essex and the Archbishop concurred together, being also (out of the affection of his most honourable friend, the Lord Burghley, Lord Treasurer)

surer) further strengthened by the friendship and love of Sir Robert Cecyll, principal Secretary, (and now Earl of Salisbury, and Lord Treasurer of England) he began to be fully revived again, and as well fortified by them as ever he was, when he was most and best friended. And her Majesty finding in him a zealous care and faithful performance of his duty and service towards the Church and her Highness, shook off those clergy cares, and laid the burthen of them upon his shoulders, telling him, "That if any thing went amiss, be it upon his soul and conscience to answer it; for she had rid her hands, and looked that he should yield an account, on her behalf, unto Almighty God."

And now, though the Archbishop was in this singular favour and grace with her Majesty, so that he did all in all for the managing of clergy affairs, and disposing of bishoprics and other ecclesiastical promotions, yet was he never puffed up with pride, nor did any thing violently (by reason of his place, and greatness with her Majesty) against any man. For he ever observed this rule, that he would not wound where he could not salve. And I leave to the report of the adversaries themselves, when he had that sway in government, and favour with her Highness, whether his carriage were not exceeding mild and temperate, and whether he did not endeavour rather by gentle persuasions and kind usages to win them than (as the law and his place required) to pronounce sentence, or lay any sharp censure upon them. Hath he not many a time, when sentence hath been ready to be given by consent of all the Commissioners, found some occasion to delay the sentence to another court day, and in the mean time so plied the delinquents, and set on others to persuade them, as thereby many of them were won, which otherwise

would never have been brought into conformity? Wherein he was of Antoninus Pius's mind, who said, when he was taxed by Aurelius for like remissness and lenity, "That he had rather save one citizen of Rome than kill a thousand enemies." And yet they knew this Archbishop had courage enough in him, and credit and authority to back him, if he would have extended it unto severity.

But it was truly noted in him by a great counsellor [5] in the Star-chamber, when Pickering was there censured for libelling against him after his death, "That there was nothing more to be feared in his government (especially toward his latter time) than his mildness and clemency." And he said that which was most true; for did he not, after that Udall and others were condemned unto death, draw upon him the dislike of his dear and honourable friend, Sir Christopher Hatton, in making suit, and never ceased until he had obtained pardon for them at her Majesty's hands? And, besides the dismission of Master Cartwright and his consorts out of the Star-chamber, did not divers gentlemen of special note find the like favour there by his intercession, and were eased both of fine and punishment for entertaining the presses and printers before-mentioned? The very truth is, I cannot sufficiently express his singular wisdom and clemency; albeit some younger spirits were of opinion, that he was much to blame in that kind, and imputed it unto his years and want of courage, and sometimes would be bold to tell him, that he knew not his own strength with her Majesty.

But he knew the Court well, and that Queen Elizabeth was the wisest governor of any prince then

[5] *A great counsellor.*] [The Earl of Salisbury's observation on him.]

living; and that she had always entreated her subjects graciously, and ruled with all mildness and moderation, and that she brought her subjects oftentimes rather by gentle means to yield unto her just and profitable demands, than enforce them thereunto by rigour and authority; which peradventure she would have used, considering her absolute sovereignty and great occasions, had she not found out, of her singular wisdom and long experience in government, that she was the more observed and reverenced of her people by intermingling and tempering her authority and sovereignty with mildness and lenity. And this her Highness's example the Archbishop followed, agreeable to that which was said of Pericles, "That he would steer and govern the commonwealth with two principal rudders, fear and hope; bridling with the one the fierce and insolent rashness of the common people when they were in prosperity, and in their jollity; and reviving and comforting with the other their discontented spirits, by giving way for the time unto their humour and passion." And happy surely was it for that crazy state of the Church (for so it was at this Archbishop's first coming, and a long time after) not to meet with too rough and boisterous a physician; for he preserved it with conserves and electuaries, and some gentle purges, which with strong purgations in all likelihood might have been much more endangered; so that it may be very well verified of him which Ennius wrote of Fabius Maximus.

"Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem;
Ergo postque magisque viri nunc gloria claret."

As you may perceive his clemency towards the irregular sort, so towards the conformable he was carried

carried with an exceeding tender respect and kindness. He loved a learned minister, virtuous and honest, with all his heart; framing himself unto that rule of Aristotle, (Polit. lib. 1.) "which directeth a good magistrate to be as careful in encouraging good men according to their merits, as in punishing the bad according to the quality of their offences." If he found a scholar of extraordinary gifts or hopes, that out of want grew discontented, and inclined to popery or puritanism, (as most of their discontentments and waywardness proceeded thence,) him would he gain both with supplies of money out of his purse, and preferments of his own gift, or otherwise, as opportunity served.

Now as our own countrymen of all sorts had daily taste of the kind disposition of this our Archbishop, so it was not wanting unto sundry men of learning and quality, of foreign countries, whom he entertained both with his love and his bounty. He sent sundry times much money to Master Beza out of his own purse, besides the general collections and contributions to Geneva, which he also greatly furthered. Upon which occasion many letters passed betwixt them, especially towards his latter time. In some of which [6] letters Master Beza confesseth, "That in his writings, touching the church government, he ever impugned the Romish hierarchy, but never intended to touch or impugn the ecclesiastical policy of this Church of England, nor to exact of us to frame ourselves or our Church to the pattern of their presbyterial discipline; and that as long as the substance of doctrine were uniform in the Church of Christ, they may lawfully vary in other matters, as the circumstance of time, place, and persons requireth, and as prescription of

[6] *In some of which.*] [March 8. 1591.]

antiquity

antiquity may warrant. And to that end, he wisheth and hopeth, that the sacred and holy College of our Bishops (for so he calleth them) will for ever continue and maintain such their right and title in the Church's government, with all equity and Christian moderation." Yea, so far was he from denying our Church to be a Church, that often, and in most pithy manner he confesseth, "That as Queen Elizabeth was the true nursing mother of the Church of Christ, so England and our English Church was both the harbour of all the godly, and the preserver of all other reformed Churches." So far was he also from esteeming the Archbishop an antichristian prelate, as he never omitted to term him "A most Reverend Father in Christ, and his most honoured good Lord." I wish that our disciplinarians, who seem to direct themselves by the rule of Geneva, would learn thus to discipline their tongues with him, and imitate his modesty.

The Archbishop, as from Master Beza, so from other famous men beyond the seas, received many letters, arguing their great love and due respect of him. At their request and recommendation he relieved and entertained in his house, for many years together, divers distressed ministers out of Germany and France, who were enforced to forsake their own countries; some by banishment, others by reason of wars and extremity which they were put unto. And at their departure he dealt bountifully with them; as namely, Drusius, Renicherus, Frigevill, and Monsieur Buse, a French minister, who read weekly a lecture in Latin in his chapel. And although his French pronunciation, and want of good delivery did somewhat blemish the goodness of the matter which he handled, yet the Archbishop's property ever was to cherish and encourage

encourage him, and all others that preached before him, and was never heard to give the preacher distaste, but rather would commend, or excuse him against other mens' censures; saying, if he were young, better experience would correct his defaults; and if he were in years, he was in that respect to be borne withal; alledging for both, that some would take exceptions sometimes rather to satisfy their own too much curiosity than for any just cause of dislike in the preacher.

Wherein he shewed a disposition very rarely to be found; in that, having himself an excellent gift in that faculty, his modesty in prizing himself, and his mildness in censuring others, was extraordinary and very singular: so that thereby he gave great encouragement unto some, whom otherwise his exquisite judgment might have daunted.

Neither herein did he, as in service of war the trumpeters use to do, who encourage others to fight, never taking weapon in hand themselves, or as Plutarch noteth in Aristogiton, "who animated others to take arms, but himself in excuse pleaded lameness, and came halting to the musters in pretence thereof." But as his continual endeavours were to reward those of best gifts, and to encourage, those of meaner, so (as often as church and state affairs gave him leave) he was industrious in propounding wholesome doctrine unto the people, and a worthy pattern of true divinity and diligence unto all others of the clergy to follow him therein. When he was Bishop of Worcester, unless extraordinary businesses of the Marches of Wales hindered him, he never failed to preach upon every sabbath-day, many times riding five or six miles to a parish church, and after sermon came home to dinner. The like he did also when he was Archbishop, and lay at Croydon, the Queen being in

in her progress.. No Sunday escaped him in Kent, as the gentlemen there can well witness, who would exceedingly resort unto him: and he would oftentimes preach so early in the morning in some parish church, both in Worcester, and Canterbury, that he came afterwards to the sermon in the cathedral church.

His gift that way was excellent, as if you had heard Saint Augustin himself, or some of the ancient Bishops in the primitive church. His gesture, and action in the pulpit, so grave and decent, his words coming from him so fatherly, and comely, and though plainly (for the most part) and without affectation, yet always elegantly, with special choice, and substantial matter, full of good and sound learning,. plentiful in authorities out of Scripture, fathers, and school-men, so singularly applied, that he much affected his auditory therewith. Thus he oftentimes stirred and moved mens' minds and affections; and that not by the force of eloquence only, but by his pious life, answerable to his religious sentences; the opinion and confidence which the people had of his integrity, being very great, because he did live unspotted of the world, and would not any way be corrupted.

He never preached, but he first wrote his notes in Latin, and afterwards kept them during his life. For he would say, That whosoever took that pains before his preaching, the elder he waxed, the better he should discharge that duty; but if he trusted only to his memory, his preaching in time would become pratling. Wherein (out of a true religious care, and divine wisdom) he did express the grave and prudent counsel that Demosthenes held in his orations, and pleadings in the court. For (as Plutarch saith) "He would never offer to speak unto the people, before he had made briefs of that which he

he had to deliver. alledging that he loved the people well, that would be careful before-hand what to say unto them. And this preparation (saith he) doth shew that a man honoureth and reverenceth them too. Contrariwise, he that passeth not how the people taketh his words, it is a plain token that he despiseth them, and their authority, and that he lacketh no good will to use force against them, if he could, rather than reason or persuasion."

When he was Bishop of Worcester, and Vice-president of the Marches, he did exceeding good by that his continual preaching, as also by his often conference, and conventing of the Papists, whom he used with mild and temperate speeches, and thereby got many of them, to conform themselves, both gentlemen, and others, whereby, as at his first coming unto the see of Worcester, he found many recusants, so he left very few at his coming thence.

Immediately after he came to be Archbishop, he convented before him the chiefest and most learned recusants throughout all England. He also wrote letters to the Bishops, his brethren, within the province of Canterbury, to proceed with the recusants by their authority ecclesiastical, and censures of the church, and called yearly upon them for an account of their doings. He sent forth also many warrants, by virtue of her Highness's commission for causes ecclesiastical, and thereby had daily brought before him both recusants and priests; who according to the quality of their offences were restrained, and proceeded against, or delivered over unto the civil magistrate to be dealt withal, as to justice appertained, after the laws were enacted against recusants and seminary priests.

Thus this grave and prudent Archbishop always carried a most vigilant eye, and straight hand over

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the subtle-headed Papists; as fearing lest they conceived an hope of advancing their cause and quarrel by help of the aforesaid contentions betwixt the Bishops and these sectaries; and so soon as they should have found the forces on both sides sufficiently weakened and enfeebled by a long continuance of the conflict, to have destroyed the vanquished with the vanquishers, whereby to re-establish their papal jurisdiction, and superstitious impieties; as not long after this Archbishop's death they attempted to do, by the devilish device of that damnable powder-treason; which if it had succeeded, their intendment then was, to have put both alike to the sword.

You may perceive by the premises, how untruly some of the uncharitable and precipitate sectaries traduced him for a Papist, and called him *the Pope of Lambeth*, in their libels, and conventicles, and most unjustly reproached him with the title of *Doctor Pearn's Servant*, whom they likewise taxed with Popery, and falsly charged him to have infected the Archbishop therewith, because of his affection and love unto him, for the reasons specified before. The truth is, as the Archbishop was of his own nature a very loving kind man, so he did hate ingratitude in any, and could never be taxed with that fault. He was likewise (as the Gentlemen of Worcestershire and Kent had daily experience) very firm, and marvellous constant, where he affected and professed love; which brought him in great displeasure in the cause of the late Earl of Essex; with whose life, and actions, though I have nothing to do (having only taken upon me to report another man's) yet thus much I may truly say, that his misfortune drew upon the Archbishop the greatest discontentment, and severest reprehension from her Majesty,

Majesty, that he had ever before undergone in all his life.

For after that the Earl began to fall upon courses displeasing and distasteful unto her Majesty, nevertheless such was the confidence the Archbishop had in the Earl's loyalty, and his own stedfastness in that friendship which he had formerly professed unto him, that he could not be drawn from being a continual intercessor for him; wherewith her Majesty was so highly displeased, and so sharply rebuked him for the same, that the good old Archbishop came sometimes home much grieved and perplexed.

Within a while after, the Earl (forgetting[7] that unto Princes the highest judgment of things is given, and unto us the glory of obedience is left) went out indeed. The Archbishop being that Sunday morning (Feb. 8, 1600) at the court (whether by direction, or by his own accord, I know not) hastened home without any attendant, and commanded as many men as he then had in the house to be presently armed, and sent over unto the court, but not to go within the gates until Master Secretary Cecill, or some other by his instruction, should appoint them a leader. There were immediately presented unto him threescore men well armed, and appointed, who with a message from the Archbishop, shewed themselves before the court; of whose arrival there Master Secretary Cecill, with the rest of the Lords of the council, were right glad, and said he was a most worthy prelate. They had speedily a leader appointed unto them, and marched presently, and were the first that entered into the gates of Essex house; and

[7] *Forgetting.*] [Tacit. Annal. lib. 4.]

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in the first court made good the place until the Earl yielded himself, and was by the Lord Admiral brought to Lambeth-house, where he remained an hour or two, and was from thence conveyed to the Tower. The Archbishop had likewise in readiness that afternoon forty horsemen well appointed, and expected directions from the court how to dispose of them. The next morning he sent a gentleman to know how the Queen did, and how she rested all night. To whom she made answer, that she rested and slept the better for his care the day before; "but I beshrew his heart" (said she) "he would not believe this of Essex, though I had often told him it would, one day, thus come to pass."

After this, when her Majesty understood that her own recommendation of the Earl had wrought that good opinion of him in the Archbishop, and that she now found his readiness for her defence, with horse, and men, and the nearness thereof unto the court, to stand her at that time in great stead, she began to entertain him in her wonted favour, and grace again, and ever after continued her good opinion of him unto her dying day.

Towards which time, though by reason of her melancholy disease, she was impatient of others speeches with her, yet was she well pleased to hear the Archbishop, the then Bishops of London, and Chichester, and the now Bishop of Worcester, with some other divines, give her comfort and counsel to prepare herself to God-ward, and most devoutly prayed with them, making signs and tokens unto her last remembrance of the sweet comfort which she took in their presence, especially when towards her end they put her in mind of the unspeakable joys she was now going unto; where, no doubt, she remaineth a glorious saint of God, and as a most

most religious Prince, rewarded with a crown of immortality, and bliss.

Now the much-lamented death of this noble Queen gave great hope to the factious of challenging forthwith all exemption from the censures, and subjection of ecclesiastical authority. But how vain their hopes were, the issue hath declared; and although the Archbishop was much dejected and grieved for the loss of his dear sovereign and mistress, who had so highly advanced him, yet he, with the rest of the Lords, repaired immediately to Whitehall, and after two hours sitting in Council about the penning of the proclamation, he principally (as his place required) with a chearful countenance, and the rest of the Lords in like sort accompanying him, first at the Court-gate at Whitehall, with the applause, and unspeakable comfort of all the people, proclaimed her most rightful successor, JAMES (then King of Scotland) King of England, France, and Ireland. Afterwards, in like chearful sort, the Archbishop with the rest of the Lords, trooped up to the Cross in Cheapside, and there with like acclamation of the Lord Mayor and Citizens, proclaimed him again (March 24, 1602.)

I am doubtful to speak (lest I might seem to detract from others) of the great comfort which the common people and citizens took in the presence of the Archbishop, and how heartily they prayed for him at his return; as if they nothing doubted, but that all went well for the state in that council, among whom he was present.

He was indeed beloved of all sorts of people, yea even of some of them who were the most fervent reprehenders themselves, as they have confessed since his death, and well worthy was he so to be, for

for that he carried a most mild and moderate hand over them. A more particular love also he deserved of many, for his affection unto liberal and ingenious arts, whereof his domestic government and care was no less argument than his public; which I have formerly spoken of. For, besides the pains which he took himself (after he was Bishop of Worcester, and Archbishop of Canterbury) many years with a number of worthy young gentlemen, in reading unto them thrice a-day, he took into his house, besides his Chaplains, divers of quality to instruct them in the mathematics, and other lectures of sundry arts and languages; giving them good allowance, and preferments otherwise, as occasion was offered. And besides the many poor scholars, whom he kept in his house till he could provide for them, and prefer them (as he did sundry to good estates) he also maintained divers in the University at his own charge, and gave liberally to them and others of any towardliness, as he heard of their necessity, and wants.

He kept likewise for the exercise of military discipline, a good armory, and a fair stable of great horses; insomuch as he was able to arm at all points both horse and foot, and divers times had one hundred foot, and fifty horse of his own servants mustered, and trained; for which purpose he entertained Captains. He had also skilful riders, who taught them to manage their horses, and instructed them in warlike exercises, all whom he rewarded in liberal manner. By this means he had divers of his own Gentlemen that afterwards proved good soldiers; many whereof became captains and commanders, and some for their valour and service were knighted in the field. There were also divers others, that for learning, languages and qualities, were fit to be employed by any Prince in Christendom.

Insomuch

Insomuch as his house, for the lectures and scholastical exercises therein performed, might justly be accounted a little academy, and in some respects superior, and more profitable; viz. for martial affairs, and the experience that divines and other scholars had, being near, and often at the court, and chief seats of justice, from whence they continually had the passages and intelligences both for matters of state, and government in causes ecclesiastical and civil. By which their continual experience, many of his domestical chaplains[s], both before, and since his death, attained unto the chiefest honours and dignities in our church and commonwealth.

And here I may not forget his religious care and provident order for the due execution of his charge, and determination of all such causes as belonged unto his proper cognizance and place. To which end and purpose, he appointed every Thursday in term a solemn and set commission day; upon which he had a sermon in his chapel by one of his Household Chaplains, and entertained the Commissioners, and their attendants, though to his great expence, which he little esteemed in regard of the well guiding, and ordering the affairs, then by him undertaken. That day you should have had a senate of the worthiest and greatest counsellors of state, with the assistance of the chief prelates, justices, judges, and sufficientest lawyers of both professions, that those times afforded.

You may then hereby observe the Archbishop's exceeding care and singular wisdom in proceeding

[s] *His domestical chaplains.*] [Dr. Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury; Dr. Ravis, Bishop of London; Dr. Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln; Dr. Goldisbury, Bishop of Gloucester; Dr. Parry, Bishop of Worcester; Dr. Redman, Bishop of Norwich; Dr. Buckeridge, Bishop of Rochester.]

with

with the advice of so many worthy, prudent, and learned men of several faculties; whereby the subjects came chearfully to the hearing of their causes, and without fear of partiality in any particular person. And howsoever the cause went, the Archbishop could not be impeached of rash or inconsiderate proceeding, seeing he had the consent and approbation of all professions. For the Archbishop always gave sentence, and ordered matters as the greater part of the court did incline, beginning at the junior first, although himself would sometimes dissent from them in opinion, and so he would tell them, but without tartness; yea in such kind and loving manner, as no man was hindered in delivering his mind. By which means he was sure always to have the cause fully debated, and every man's opinion fully known; which when he found concurring with his own, and the proceedings ordered according to the rules of justice, he would go on to sentence and determine the cause.

Wherein he carried himself with great resolution, and courage, were the persons never so great that were interested in the same, as you may perceive by one instance (among many) when himself was yet no counsellor of state. A gentleman of good note seeing how the court was inclined to order his cause (not according to his desire) told the Archbishop, that upon another occasion there grew some speech of that cause before the Lords of the council, and their Lordships were of another opinion than his Grace, and the rest of the Commissioners, seemed to be; What tellest thou me (said the Archbishop) of the Lords of the council? I tell thee, they are in these cases to be advised by us, and not we by them. He would upon such like occasions oftentimes say unto his private friends towards his latter time (when they talked familiarly

with him, and observed his courage and stoutness) "That two things did help much to make a man confident in good causes, namely, *Orbitas, et Senectus;* and (said he) they steed me both."

This orderly proceeding and course upheld the reputation and dignity of the commission court; which albeit it be of great authority, and dealeth for the most part in matters of great weight and importance, yet the want of worthy assistants and counsel (if the like care should not be continued) may make it grow to be of little reputation, as experience hath somewhat taught us since the decease of this good Archbishop: whereunto not unaptly may be applied that which Plutarch reporteth of Cato Utican, when he was Prætor: "For he would oftentimes go on foot, bare legged, and without his gown, unto his prætorian chair, and there give sentence of life and death, whereby he rather defaced and impaired the majesty and dignity of his office, than gave it countenance by his manner of proceeding; although otherwise he were a good commonwealth's man, and ministered justice uprightly unto all."

But I return unto our Archbishop again. He gave audience unto suitors twice a day, and afforded them set hours for their dispatch, at which time he would so courteously entreat them, giving them so mild and gentle answers, that even they that sped not of their suits, did depart without discontentment. Wherein I may justly compare him unto Titus, *qui neminem unquam à se tristem dimisit;* (Sueton. in vita.) he dismissed no man sorrowful from his presence. Wherefore he gave also express commandment unto his officers, that suitors and strangers should ever be courteously entertained, as well for expedition of their suits, as for hospitality sake.

He had a desire always to keep a great and bountiful house; and so he did, having the same well ordered and governed by his head officers therein, and all things in plentiful manner, both for his own service, and entertainment of strangers, according to their several qualities and degrees. He often feasted the clergy, nobility, and gentry of his diocese and neighbourhood. And at Christmas, especially, his gates were always open, and his hall set twice or thrice over with strangers. Upon some chief festival-days he was served with great solemnity, sometime upon the knee, as well for the upholding of the state that belonged unto his place, as for the better education and practice of his gentlemen and attendants in point of service.

Every year he entertained the Queen at one of his houses, so long as he was Archbishop; and some years twice or thrice; where all things were performed in so seemly an order, that she went thence always exceedingly well pleased. And besides many public and gracious favours done unto him, she would salute him, and bid him farewell by the name of *Black Husband;* calling also his men her servants, as a token of her good contentment with their attendance and pains.

Every third year he went into Kent (unless great occasions hindred him) where he was so honourably attended upon by his own train (consisting of two hundred persons) and with the gentlemen of the country, that he did sometimes ride into the city of Canterbury, and into other towns, with eight hundred or a thousand horse. And surely the entertainment which he gave them, and they him, was so great, that, as I am verily persuaded, no shire in England did, or could, give greater, or with more chearful minds, unto each other. The fatherly care which he had of his clergy, (whom

he never charged with visitation, but once in twenty years) his affability amongst the gentlemen, and courteous usage of his tenants, gained him so great a love, that he might very far prevail with them; yea, they never denied him any request that he made unto them.

At his first journey into Kent he rode to Dover, being attended with an hundred of his own servants, at least, in livery, whereof there were forty gentlemen in chains of gold. The train of clergy and gentlemen in the country, and their followers, was above five hundred horse. At his entrance into the town, there happily landed an intelligencer from Rome, of good parts, and account, who wondered to see an Archbishop, or clergyman in England, so reverenced, and attended. But seeing him upon the next Sabbath-day after in the cathedral church of Canterbury, attended upon by his gentlemen, and servants (as is aforesaid;) also by the Dean, Prebendaries, and Preachers in their surplices, and scarlet hoods, and heard the solemn music, with the voices, and organs, cornets, and sackbuts, he was overtaken with admiration, and told an English gentleman[9] of very good quality (who then accompanied him) "That they were led in great blindness at Rome by our own nation, who made the people there believe, that there was not in England, either Archbishop, or Bishop, or cathedral, or any church or ecclesiastical government; but that all was pulled down to the ground, and that the people heard their ministers in woods, and fields, amongst trees, and brute beasts: but, for his own part, he protested, that (unless it were in the Pope's chapel) he never saw a more solemn

[9] *Told an English gentleman.*] [Sir Edward Hobby.] Compare Hacket's *Life of Archbishop Williams*, p. 210—212. part. I.

sight,

sight, or heard a more heavenly sound." "Well," said the English gentleman, "I am glad of this your so lucky and first sight; ere long you will be of another mind, and, I hope, work miracles when you return to Rome, in making those that are led in this blindness, to see and understand the truth." "It is" (said the intelligencer) "the chief cause of my coming, to see with mine own eyes, and truly to inform others." Whereupon the said English gentleman accompanied him to London, and so to the court, where he saw and heard many things to confirm the gentleman's report, for the government of the church, and civil carriage of the people, in their obedience to the clergy and magistrates in the commonwealth. Afterwards this intelligencer had private speech with Sir Francis Walsingham (then principal Secretary to her Majesty) who related all this to the Archbishop with due approbation of his Kentish journey; confessing that he should reverence and honour him therefore while he lived. And although he were one of the honourable Counsellors, before mentioned, that seemed to favour the precise faction, yet, undoubtedly, he was, after this time a kind friend to the Archbishop, and did him many good offices with the Queen.

Howbeit, some of near alliance unto Sir Francis, bearing themselves very boldly upon his favour, would oftentimes handle the Archbishop very roughly, and much provoke him by vain speeches, and brags of their own worth and scholarship; and (being mere lay-men) would very unmannerly compare themselves with the best conformable divines, for true knowledge, and understanding of the Scriptures. But the Archbishop smiling at their vanities, would notwithstanding courteously handle and entreat them in his own house, according to the true rule

rule of hospitality; not unlike unto Pericles, who being reviled by a lewd fellow in the market-place all the day long, returned no bad language, but dispatched his affairs in hearing the suppliants, and determining their causes; and when night came on, the party followed him still, railing upon him till he came to his own house. It being now dark, Pericles, as he entered in, commanded one of his servants to light him home.

You see now of what an excellent nature this Archbishop was; how far from giving offence, how ready to forgive a wrong, merciful, compassionate, and tender-hearted. Yet was he not void (as no man is) of infirmities. The Holy Scripture noteth of Elias, *that he was a man subject to the like passions as we are,* (James v. 17.) But, as Horace saith,

——— optimus ille
Qui minimis urgetur.——(Serm. lib. 1. sat. 3.)

So may it be confessed of this Archbishop, that the greatest, or rather only fault known in him was choler; and yet in him so corrected, not by philosophy alone (as Socrates confessed of his faults) but by the word, and grace of God, as it rather served for a whetstone of his courage in just causes, than any weapon whetted against the person, goods, or good name of any other. So that it may (as I am verily persuaded) be rightfully said of him, that he was such a magistrate as Jethro advised Moses to take in judging the people of God, and such a Bishop as St. Paul requireth in the church of Christ. *Provide* (saith Jethro, Exod. i. 18.) *among all the people, men of courage, fearing God, dealing truly, hating covetousness, and appoint such over them to be rulers. And a Bishop* (saith St. Paul) *must be unreprovable,*

unreprovable, the husband of one wife, watching, temperate, modest, harbarous, apt to teach, not given to wine, no striker, not given to filthy lucre, but gentle, no fighter, not covetous, one that can rule his own house honestly. He may not be a young scholar, lest he, being puffed up, fall into the condemnation of the Devil. He must also be well reported of, even of them which are without, lest he fall into rebuke, and the snare of the Devil. (1 Tim. c. iii.)

And now what is there that the Devil himself, with all his imps, popish, or schismatical libellers, can rebuke or condemn, in this good Archbishop's saintly life? Let them examine his actions, in all his carriage and course, if so they can convince him in any thing, that was not agreeable to the directions of Jethro for a Magistrate, and answerable unto the rule of Saint Paul for a Bishop.

As for good works (whereof the Papists so vainly brag, as particular effects of their superstitious doctrines, yea, for which heaven itself is a due reward by condignity) many towns, cities and counties can yield a plentiful testimony for him in this behalf; namely, Lincoln, Worcester, the Marches of Wales, Kent and Surry, wherein he lived; and, in particular, that notable monument of our time, his Hospital of the Blessed Trinity in Croydon, which he built very fair, and college-wise, for a warden, and eight and twenty brothers and sisters. He built also near unto it a goodly free school, with a schoolmaster's house, allowing unto the schoolmaster twenty pounds by year for ever. All which he performed with such alacrity, and good success, that he hath been heard divers times to profess with great comfort, that, notwithstanding the charge of the purchase and building was not small unto him, in comparison of his estate (who neither impaired house-keeping, nor retinue at that time) yet when

when he had finished and done that whole work, he found himself no worse in his estate than when he first began, which he ascribed unto the extraordinary blessing and goodness of God.

After the finishing of this hospital, among many other his good deeds, the French Leiger Embassader in England, called Boys Sisi, enquired what works the Archbishop had published, for that he would willingly read his books, who was reputed the peerless prelate for piety and learning in our days, and whom in conference, he found so grave, godly, and judicious; when it was answered, that he only published certain books in the English tongue, in defence of the ecclesiastical government (although it be very well known to many, who were near unto him, that he left divers learned treatises in written-hand, well worthy the printing) and that it was thereupon incidently told the Embassador that he had founded an hospital, and a school, he used these words; *Profectò Hospitale, ad sublevandam paupertatem, et schola, ad instruendam juventutem, sunt optimi libri, quos Archiepiscopus conscribere potuit;* Truly an hospital to sustain the poor, and a school to train up youth, are the worthiest books that an Archbishop could set forth.

And albeit the Archbishop had ever a great affection to lie at his mansion house at Croydon, for the sweetness of the place, especially in summer ime; whereby also the might sometimes retire himself from the multiplicity of businesses and suitors in the vacations; yet, after he had built his hospital, and his school, he was farther in love with the place than before. The chief comfort of repose or solace that he took, was in often dining at the hospital among his poor brethren, as he called them. There he was often visited by his entire and

and honourable friends, the Earl of Shrewsbury, Worcester, and Cumberland, the Lord Zouch, the Bishop of London, and others of near place about her Majesty, in whose company he chiefly delighted.

In the absence of his friends, he would be exceeding chearful and affable with his own gentlemen and servants, though his bounty towards them and the poor did not consist in words, but in deeds, for he was very liberal in rewarding them, both with leases, offices, and otherwise with supplies, as their occasions required, out of his purse; and would, I make no question, have done much more for them out of his own estate, if he had had ability, and time (after his sickness first seized upon him) to dispose of his worldly affairs.

As his bounty was very great towards his own (for in that number likewise he always accounted the poor society of his hospital) so were his hands every where reached out to the necessities of all sorts. Yea such was his charity, that if he had seen poor men addicted to labour, he would have given them money, and waste ground to employ in gardening, or some such use as might be for their relief. Or if he heard that any of his poor neighbours were decrepit, or destitute of means to follow their trade, he would supply their needs either with money or fuel, and sometimes poor watermens' wants with boats, and such like; wherein he dealt no worse with them, than that famous Bishop of Lincoln, Robert Grosthead, dealt with his poor kinsman; in whose behalf when he was solicited to advance him, and thereupon enquiring what course of life he followed, and receiving answer that he was an husbandman; "Why then" (quoth he) "if his plough be broken, I will repair it,

it, or, rather than fail, bestow a new one upon him, whereby he may go on in his course of life; but so to advance him as to make him forget his trade, or condition in which he was brought up, that mean I not to do."

I fear lest I have held the reader too long in these private matters; therefore I will for brevity sake omit to speak of the fair library which he left behind him, with many other memorable things (worthy the observation) and return again unto his public affairs.

The Archbishop (respecting the welfare of the Church and public cause) albeit he was very confident of the King's princely wisdom by the experience he had thereof (being now an ancient counsellor) and well understanding the passages of matters betwixt his Majesty and state of our country, (whereby he did conceive that it was not probable so wise and learned a prince could be overcome with the conceits of such innovators, whose fancies could not stand but with hazard of the state) yet he held it most expedient to send that reverend gentleman, Master Doctor Nevill, Dean of Canterbury, into Scotland to his Majesty, in the name of the Bishops and Clergy of England, to tender their bounden duties, and to understand his Highness's pleasure for the ordering and guiding of clergy causes. The Dean brought a most gracious answer of his Highness's purpose, which was to uphold and maintain the government of the late Queen as she left it settled. Which answer did much comfort the Archbishop; and the rather, because it did yield full satisfaction unto some others, who peradventure might conceive some doubt of alteration, by reason of the puritan brags, and their affections unto the presbyterial government in Scotland.

In

In this mean while the preparations were great for solemnization of the late Queen's funeral, which being performed very sumptuously, as became the dignity of so great a prince, the Archbishop, as he was the principal in the custody of the kingdom, and chief in all councils of state, under his Majesty in his absence, (for there is no interregnum in England, as Watson the priest did traiterously pretend) so in this last solemnity of obsequy unto his ever honoured sovereign and mistress he was the most eminent person in the whole land, and principal mourner, who received the offering, and had the banners presented unto him.

After this, when at his Majesty's first entrance into England, the King had spoken with him at Theobalds, whereby he more fully conceived his religious pleasure touching the affairs of this commonwealth, he was therewith put into heart, especially when, after his coming to London, he did again perceive his resolution for the continuance of the well-settled state of the Church, which made him more cheerfully prepare himself for performance of his duty (as a thing belonging unto his place) against the day of coronation, July 25, 1603.

At which time the Archbishop, with all due ceremonies and observances for so great a solemnity, crowned and anointed his sacred Majesty King James in the collegiate church of Westminster. Then also and there he crowned our most noble and gracious Queen Anne, his Majesty's happy and fruitful wife, whose blessed seed God grant so to encrease and continue as there may never be wanting thereof to rule and reign in this kingdom.

The Puritan faction did not surcease until by their importunity they obtained a conference

ence [1] before his Highness, which continued for three days. His Majesty having now at full heard their objections, and the Bishops' answers, (the weakness of the one, and the forcible reasons of the other, much confirming his royal mind in his former opinion) was pleased immediately thereupon to signify publicly his resolution for the continuance of the religion and ecclesisastical government formerly established; highly commending the wisdom, care, and constancy of his sister the late Queen Elizabeth, in constituting and maintaining all things so well, as also approving the Bishops learning, wisdom, and endeavour to uphold so godly and well-governed a Church, which himself (by God's assistance) would ever advance and defend. Likewise he gave present command touching the new printing of the Common Prayer-book, for the further ratifying of the Liturgy and Orders of our Church.

The Parliament now growing on, the Archbishop, that he might be the better prepared, did appoint a meeting at Fulham, at the Bishop of London's house, to confer with some of the Bishops' and Judges of his court, concerning the affairs of the

[1] *Obtained a conference.*] An account of this Conference, which is important, as exhibiting a view of the state of the controversy at that time between the orthodox Clergy and the Puritans, and the perusal of which, in this place, is therefore recommended to the Reader, was drawn up, at the command of Whitgift, by Dr. William Barlow, and entitled, "The Summe and Substance of the Conference, which it pleased his Excellent Majestie to have with the Lords Bishops, and other of his Clergie, at which the most of the Lordes of the Councell were present, in his Majesties Privy-Chamber at Hampton Court. January 14, 1603. London printed by John Windet, 1604." 4to. It was republished in the first volume of *The Phœnix*, in the year 1707: and has appeared again, recently, in a valuable and seasonable Collection of Tracts, called *The Churchman's Remembrancer*.

Church

Church which were then to be treated upon. As he was thus going in his barge upon an extraordinary cold day, and having his barge-cloth tied up (as his custom was) to the top of the bales, the wind blew very sharply, so that the young gentlemen (shaking with cold) desired to have the cloth down, which he would by no means permit, because the water was rough, and he would therefore see his way. By reason whereof the flashing of the water and sharpness of the air did so pierce the Archbishop (being above threescore and thirteen years of age) that he complained the same night of a great cold which he had then taken in the mould of his head.

Notwithstanding which distemperature, for performance of his accustomed duty unto the King's Majesty (as formerly unto the Queen) he went upon the next sabbath following (being the first Sunday in Lent) over unto the court at Whitehall, where meeting the then Bishop of London, they both had long speech with his Highness about the affairs of the Church, both before and after his Majesty's coming from the chapel. For which cause, staying long at the court, and having fasted until it was near one of the clock, as he was going from his Majesty unto the council-chamber to dinner, he was taken with a dead palsy, whereby all his right side was benumbed, and he bereaved of his speech. From the council-chamber he was, by means of his dearest friends, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, and the Bishop of London, with the aid of the King's servants, carried to the Lord Treasurer's chamber, and afterwards in his barge conveyed home to Lambeth.

His Majesty (being much troubled with the report of his sickness) came upon the Tuesday following to visit and comfort him with very kind and

and gracious speeches; saying, "That he would beg him of God in his prayer; which if he could obtain, he should think it one of the greatest temporal blessings that could be given him in this kingdom." The Archbishop made offer to speak to his Majesty in Latin; but neither his Highness, nor any there present, well understood what he said, save only that by the last words, *pro Ecclesia Dei, pro Ecclesia Dei* (which in earnest manner, with his eyes and hands lift up, he oftentimes iterated) his Majesty conceived (as it pleased him afterwards to report) that he continued the suit, which sundry times before, and at his last attendance on his Highness, he had earnestly recommended unto his royal and special care in behalf of the Church.

After his Majesty's departure, the Archbishop had neither perfect use of his speech, nor ability to write his mind, as he did desire by the signs that he used for ink and paper. Which being brought unto him, and he making offer to write, had no feeling of his pen, for it fell out of his hands. When he perceived his impotency to write, after two or three assays, he fetched a great sigh, and lay down again; and on Wednesday following (at eight of the clock at night) the last of February, 1603, he quietly, and like a lamb, died, the servant of Christ, as in the time of his sickness, by many infallible signs, was manifest unto myself and those that attended him at that time of his visitation. Which cannot be better testified by any than by Doctor Barlow, the now Bishop of Lincoln, together with Doctor Buckeridge, (now Bishop of Rochester,) and Doctor Charryor, his then household Chaplains, who for the most part were continually with him, from the beginning of his sickness unto the end of the same. Of the manner of whose death, though some undiscreet men have censured uncha-

uncharitably, yet I may truly say, as Solon did for the happy ends of Eleobis and Biton, who, in the absence of their mother's oxen, did yoke themselves, and drew her in her coach to the temple, and after their sacrifices performed, went to bed, and were found the next morning dead, without hurt or sorrow: so fared it with this good Archbishop, who wanting the assistance of some, who by their places should have undergone with him the charge of guiding and supporting of ecclesiastical affairs, took the yoke and burden thereof upon himself for his mother the Church's sake. And when he had performed his oblations of prayer and thanksgiving to God, was carried to bed, and there died, without suffering hurt or sorrow. Thus he, as Abraham, (of whom he was a true son,) *yielded up the spirit, and died in a good age, an old man, and of great years, and was gathered unto his people.* (Genes. xxv. 8.) He was Bishop of Worcester six years and five months, and Archbishop of Canterbury twenty years and five months.

Now though he lived and died, no doubt, a chosen and beloved servant of God, and one, who as a learned man[a] truly saith, had devoutly consecrated both his whole life to God, and his painful labours to the Church, yet there wanted not some who after his death sought by an infamous libel[b] to stain the glory of his ever honourable name. But their malice was soon discovered, and the author, at least the publisher, punished by an honourable sentence, given in the High Court of Star-chamber.

And if what was then spoken by their Lordships, and the rest of that great and judicious court,

[a] *As a learned man.*] [Camden's Britannia, Comitat: Cant. p. 338.]

[b] *An infamous libel.*] He was libelled by Lewis Pickering. See Strype's Whitgift. p. 579.

con-

concerning this Archbishop's piety, wisdom, learn- and government, were published in print, he that would have adventured to write any thing more of him might justly have been condemned of indiscretion. Therefore, as a burden that I am not able to undergo, I forbear to enter into any particular relation of their speeches and sentence.

His funeral was very honourably (as befitted his place) solemnized at Croydon the 27th of March following, 1604, where the Earl of Worcester and the Lord Zouch did him the honour in attending the hearse and carrying his banners: Doctor Babbington, Bishop of Worcester, made his funeral sermon; who likewise was his pupil in Cambridge, and performed that duty (among many other due observances of him in his life-time) with very great commendation, chusing for his text a portion of Scripture most fitting the worthiness of his person. *But Jehoida waxed old, and was full of days and died. An hundred and thirty years old was he when he died. And they buried him in the city of David, with the kings, because he had done good in Israel, and toward God and his house.* (2 Chron. xxiv. 15, 16.

Having now committed the body of this most reverend personage (which was sometime the mansion of a most excellent soul) unto his grave (where it rests in assured expectation of a glorious resurrection) I will, for conclusion, speak somewhat of the outward shape and proportion thereof. He was of a middle stature, of a grave countenance, and brown complexion, black hair and eyes; he wore his beard neither long nor thick. For his small timber, he was of a good quick strength, straight and well shaped in all his limbs to the habit of his body, which began somewhat to burnish towards his latter years.

And

And thus, gentle Reader, that I may not extend this discourse beyond the period of his life, who was the subject thereof, I withdraw my pen from paper, intreating either thy friendly acceptance of this my labour, or thy farther pains in writing and publishing some more complete and learned observations of thine own, touching this renowned Archbishop's actions and fame, which could not, without great shame unto myself and others his followers, be buried in darkness with his body.

DOCTOR JOHN DONNE.

—— Here much I ruminate, as much I may,
With other views of men and manners now
Than once, and others of a life to come.

COWPER.

INTRODUCTION.

IF that great master of language and art, Sir Henry Wotton, the late provost of Eaton College, had lived to see the publication of these sermons, he had presented the world with the author's life exactly written. And it was pity he did not; for it was a work worthy his undertaking, and he fit to undertake it; betwixt whom, and the author, there was so mutual a knowledge, and such a friendship contracted in their youth, as nothing but death could force a separation. And, though their bodies were divided, their affections were not: for, that learned Knight's love followed his friend's fame beyond death and the forgetful grave; which he testified by intreating me, whom he acquainted with his design, to inquire of some particulars that concerned it, not doubting but my knowledge of the author, and love to his memory, might make my diligence useful. I did most gladly undertake the employment, and continued it with great content till I had made my collection ready to be augmented and completed by his matchless pen: but then, death prevented his intentions.

When I heard that sad news, and heard also that these sermons were to be printed, and want the author's life, which I thought to be very remarkable: indignation or grief (indeed I know not which) transported me so far, that I reviewed my forsaken collections,

collections, and resolved the world should see the best plain picture of the author's life that my artless pencil, guided by the hand of truth, could present to it.

And, if I shall now be demanded as once Pompey's poor bondman was *, (the grateful wretch had been left alone on the Sea-shore, with the forsaken dead body of his once glorious lord and master; and was then gathering the scattered pieces of an old broken boat to make a funeral pile to burn it, which was the custom of the Romans,) "Who art thou that alone hast the honour to bury the body of Pompey the great?" so, who am I that do thus officiously set the author's memory on fire? I hope the question will prove to have in it, more of wonder than disdain: but wonder indeed the reader may, that I who profess myself artless should presume with my faint light to shew forth his life whose very name makes it illustrious! but, be this to the disadvantage of the person represented: certain I am, it is to the advantage of the beholder, who shall here see the author's picture in a natural dress, which ought to beget faith in what is spoken: for, he that wants skill to deceive, may safely be trusted.

And if the author's glorious spirit, which now is in heaven, can have the leisure to look down and see me, the poorest, the meanest of all his friends, in the midst of this officious duty, confident I am, that he will not disdain this well-meant sacrifice to his memory: for, whilst his conversation made me and many others happy below, I know his humility and gentleness was then eminent; and, I have heard divines say, those virtues that were but sparks upon earth, become great and glorious flames in heaven.

* Plutarch.

Before

Before I proceed further, I am to intreat the reader to take notice, that when Doctor Donne's Sermons were first printed, this was then my excuse for daring to write his life; and, I dare not now appear without it.

DOCTOR JOHN DONNE

MASTER John Donne was born in London, in the year 1573, of good and virtuous parents: and, though his own learning and other multiplied merits may justly appear sufficient to dignify both himself and his posterity; yet, the reader may be pleased to know, that his father was masculinely and lineally descended from a very ancient family in Wales, where many of his name now live, that deserve and have great reputation in that country.

By his mother he was descended of the family of the famous and learned sir Thomas More, sometime lord chancellor of England; as also, from that worthy and laborious judge Rastall, who left posterity the vast statutes of the law of this nation most exactly abridged.

He had his first breeding in his father's house, where a private tutor had the care of him, until the tenth year of his age; and, in his eleventh year, was sent to the university of Oxford; having at that time a good command both of the French and Latin tongue. This and some other of his remarkable abilities, made one then give this censure of him; That this age had brought forth another Picus Mirandula; of whom story says, That he was rather born, than made wise by study.

There he remained for some years in Hart Hall, having for the advancement of his studies tutors of several sciences to attend and instruct him, till time made him capable, and his learning expressed in public

public exercises declared him worthy to receive his first degree in the schools; which he forbore by advice from his friends, who being for their religion of the Romish persuasion, were conscionably averse to some parts of the oath that is always tendered at those times, and, not to be refused by those that expect the titulary honour of their studies.

About the fourteenth year of his age, he was transplanted from Oxford to Cambridge; where, that he might receive nourishment from both soils, he staid till his seventeenth year; all which time he was a most laborious student, often changing his studies, but endeavouring to take no degree, for the reasons fermerly mentioned.

About the seventeenth year of his age, he was removed to London, and then admitted into Lincoln's Inn, with an intent to study the law; where he gave great testimonies of his wit, his learning, and of his improvement in that profession; which never served him for other use than an ornament and self-satisfaction.

His father died before his admission into this society; and being a merchant, left him his portion in money (it was 3000l.). His mother and those to whose care he was committed, were watchful to improve his knowledge, and to that end appointed him tutors both in the mathematicks, and in all the other liberal sciences, to attend him. But with these arts they were advised to instil into him particular principles of the Romish church; of which those tutors profest (though secretly) themselves to be members.

They had almost obliged him to their faith; having for their advantage, besides many opportunities, the example of his dear and pious parents, which was a most powerful pesuasion, and did

work much upon him, as he professeth in his preface to his Pseudo-Martyr; a book of which the reader shall have some account in what follows.

He was now entered into the eighteenth year of his age; and at that time had betrothed himself of no religion that might give him any other denomination than a Christian. And reason and piety had both persuaded him, that there could be no such sin as schism, if an adherence to some visible church were not necessary.

About the nineteenth year of his age, he, being then unresolved what religion to adhere to, and, considering how much it concerned his soul to choose the most orthodox, did therefore (though his youth and health promised him a long life) to rectify all scruples that might concern that, presently lay aside all study of the law; and, of all other sciences that might give him a denomination; and began seriously to survey, and consider the body of divinity, as it was then controverted betwixt the reformed, and the Roman church. And as "God's blessed Spirit did then awaken him to the search, and in that industry did never forsake him, (they be his own words[1]) so he calls the same Holy Spirit to witness this protestation; that in that disquisition and search, he proceeded with humility and diffidence in himself; and, by that which he took to be the safest way; namely, frequent prayers, and an indifferent affection to both parties;" and indeed, truth had too much light about her to be hid from so sharp an inquirer; and he had too much ingenuity, not to acknowledge he had found her.

Being to undertake this search, he believed the Cardinal Bellarmine to be the best defender of the Roman cause, and therefore betook himself to the

[1] In his Preface to *Pseudo-Martyr*.

exami-

examination of his reasons. The cause was weighty; and wilful delays had been inexcusable both towards God and his own conscience; he therefore proceeded in this search with all moderate haste, and about the twentieth year of his age, did shew the then dean of Gloucester (whose name, my memory hath now lost) all the cardinal's works marked with many weighty observations under his own hand; which works were bequeathed by him at his death as a legacy to a most dear friend.

About a year following he resolved to travel; and the earl of Essex going first to Cales, and after the island voyages, the first anno 1596, the second 1597, he took the advantage of those opportunities, waited upon his lordship, and was an eye-witness of those happy and unhappy employments.

But he returned not back into England, till he had staid some years first in Italy, and then in Spain, where he made many useful observations of those countries, their laws and manner of government, and returned perfect in their languages.

The time that he spent in Spain was at his first going into Italy designed for travelling to the Holy Land, and for viewing Jerusalem and the sepulchre of our Saviour. But at his being in the furthest parts of Italy, the disappointment of company, or of a safe convoy, or the uncertainty of returns of money into those remote parts, denied him that happiness: which he did often occasionally mention with a deploration.

Not long after his return into England, that exemplary pattern of gravity and wisdom, the lord Elsemore, then keeper of the great seal, and lord chancellor of England, taking notice of his learning, languages, and other abilities, and much affecting his person and behaviour, took him to be his chief secretary; supposing and intending it to

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be an introduction to some more weighty employment in the state; for which his lordship did often protest he thought him very fit.

Nor did his lordship in this time of master Donne's attendance upon him, account him to be so much his servant, as to forget he was his friend; and to testify it, did alwayes use him with much courtesy, appointing him a place at his own table, to which he esteemed his company and discourse to be a great ornament.

He continued that employment for the space of five years, being daily useful, and not mercenary to his friends. During which time he (I dare not say unhappily) fell into such a liking, as (with her approbation) increased into a love with a young gentlewoman that lived in that family, who was niece to the lady Elsemore, and daughter to sir George More, then chancellor of the garter and lieutenant of the Tower.

Sir George had some intimation of it, and knowing prevention to be a great part of wisdom, did therefore remove her with much haste from that to his own house at Lothesley, in the county of Surry; but too late, by reason of some faithful promises which were so interchangeably passed, as never to be violated by either party.

These promises were only known to themselves: and the friends of both parties used much diligence, and many arguments, to kill or cool their affections to each other: but in vain; for, love is a flattering mischief, that hath denied aged and wise men a foresight of those evils that too often prove to be the children of that blind father: a passion! that caries us to commit *errors* with as much ease as whirlwinds remove feathers, and begets in us an unwearied industry to the attainment of what we desire. And such an industry did, notwithstanding

ing much watchfulness against it, bring them secretly together (I forbear to tell the manner how) and at last to a marriage too, without the allowance of those friends, whose approbation always was, and ever will be necessary, to make even a virtuous love become lawful.

And that the knowledge of their marriage might not fall, like an unexpected tempest, on those that were unwilling to have it so; and, that preapprehensions might make it the less enormous, when it was known: it was purposely whispered into the ears of many that it was so, yet by none that could affirm it. But, to put a period to the jealousies of sir George (doubt often begetting more restless thoughts than the certain knowledge of what we fear) the news was in favour to Mr. Donne, and with his allowance, made known to sir George, by his honourable friend and neighbour Henry Earl of Northumberland: but it was to sir George so immeasureably unwelcome, and so transported him, that as though his passion of anger and inconsideration, might exceed theirs of love and error, he presently engaged his sister the lady Elsemore, to join with him to procure her lord to discharge Mr. Donne of the place he held under his lordship.—This request was followed with violence; and though sir George were remembered, that errors might be overpunished, and desired therefore to forbear till second considerations might clear some scruples; yet, he became restless until his suit was granted, and the punishment executed. And though the lord chancellor did not at Mr. Donne's dismission, give him such a commendation as the great emperor Charles the fifth, did of his secretary Eraso, when he presented him to his son and successor Philip the second, saying, "That in his Eraso, he gave to him a greater gift than all his esate,

estate, and all the kingdoms which he then resigned to him:" yet the lord chancellor said, "He parted with a friend, and such a secretary as was fitter to serve a king than a subject."

Immediately after his dismission from his service, he sent a sad letter to his wife, to acquaint her with it; and, after the subscription of his name, writ,

John Donne, Anne Donne, Undone,

and God knows it proved too true.

For this bitter physic of Mr. Donne's dismission was not strong enough to purge out all sir George's choler; for, he was not satisfied till Mr. Donne and his sometime compupil in Cambridge that married him; namely, Samuel Brook (who was after doctor in divinity, and Master of Trinity College) and his brother Mr. Christopher Brook, sometime Mr. Donne's chamber-fellow in Lincoln's Inn, who gave Mr. Donne his wife, and witnessed the marriage, were all committed to three several prisons.

Mr. Donne was first enlarged, who neither gave rest to his body or brain, nor to any friend in whom he might hope to have an interest, until he had procured an enlargement for his two imprisoned friends.

He was now at liberty, but his days were still cloudy; and being past these troubles, others did still multiply upon him; for his wife was (to her extreme sorrow) detained from him; and, though with Jacob he endured not an hard service for her, yet he lost a good one, and was forced to make good his title, and to get possession of her by a long and restless suit in law; which proved troublesome and sadly-chargeable to him, whose youth, and travel, and needless bounty, had brought his estate into a narrow compass.

It

It is observed, and most truly, that silence and submission are charming qualities, and work most upon passionate men; and it proved so with sir George; for these, and a general report of Mr. Donne's merits, together with his winning behaviour (which when it would intice, had a strange kind of elegant irresistible art) these, and time had so dispassionated sir George, that as the world had approved his daughter's choice, so he also could not but see a more than ordinary merit in his new son: and this at last melted him into so much remorse (for love and anger are so like agues, as to have hot and cold fits; and love in parents, though it may be quenched, yet is easily rekindled, and expires not, till death denies mankind a natural head) that he laboured his son's restoration to his place; using to that end, both his own and his sister's power to her lord; but with no success; for his answer was, "That though he was unfeignedly sorry for what he had done, yet it was inconsistent with his place and credit, to discharge and readmit servants at the request of passionate petitioners"

Sir George's endeavour for Mr. Donne's readmission, was by all means to be kept secret; for men do more naturally reluct for errors, than submit to put on those blemishes that attend their visible acknowledgment. But however it was not long before Sir George appeared to be so far reconciled, as to wish their happiness; and not to deny them his paternal blessing; but yet refused to contribute any means that might conduce to their livelyhood.

Mr. Donne's estate was the greatest part spent in many and chargeable travels, books, and dear-bought experience; he out of all employment that might

might yield a support for himself and wife, who had been curiously and plentifully educated; both their natures generous, and accustomed to confer, and not to receive courtesies: these and other considerations, but chiefly that his wife was to bear a part in his sufferings, surrounded him with many sad thoughts, and some apparent apprehensions of want.

But his sorrows were lessened and his wants prevented by the seasonable courtesy of their noble kinsman sir Francis Wolly of Pirford in Surry, who intreated them to a cohabitation with him, where they remained with much freedom to themselves, and equal content to him for some years; and, as their charge encreased (she had yearly a child) so did his love and bounty.

It hath been observed by wise and considering men, that wealth hath seldom been the portion, and never the mark to discover good people; but, that Almighty God, who disposeth all things wisely, hath of his abundant goodness denied it (he only knows why) to many, whose minds he hath enriched with greater blessings of knowledge and virtue, as the fairer testimonies of his love to mankind; and this was the present condition of this man of so excellent erudition and endowments; whose necessary and daily expences were hardly reconcileable with his uncertain and narrow estate. Which I mention, for that at this time there was a most generous offer made him for the moderating of his worldly cares; the declaration of which shall be the next employment of my pen.

God has been so good to his church, as to afford it in every age some such men to serve at his altar as have been piously ambitious of doing good to mankind, a disposition that is so like to God himself, that it owes itself only to him who takes a

pleasure to behold it in his creatures. These times * he did bless with many such; some of which still live to be patterns of apostolical charity, and of more than human patience. I have said this, because I have occasion to mention one of them in my following discourse; namely, Dr. Morton, the most laborious and learned bishop of Durham; one, that God hath blessed with perfect intellectuals, and a chearful heart at the age of 94 years (and is yet living); one, that in his days of plenty had so large a heart as to use his large revenue to the encouragement of learning and virtue, and is now (be it spoken with sorrow) reduced to a narrow estate, which he embraces without repining; and still shews the beauty of his mind by so liberal a hand, as if this were an age in which *to-morrow were to care for itself.* I have taken a pleasure in giving the reader a short, but true character of this good man, my friend, from whom I received this following relation.—He sent to Mr. Donne, and intreated to borrow an hour of his time for a conference the next day. After their meeting, there was not many minutes passed before he spake to Mr. Donne to this purpose: "Mr. Donne, the occasion of sending for you is to propose to you what I have often revolved in my own thought since I last saw you; which nevertheless I will not declare but upon this condition, that you shall not return me a present answer, but forbear three days, and bestow some part of that time in fasting and prayer; and after a serious consideration of what I shall propose, then return to me with your answer. Deny me not, Mr. Donne; for it is the effect of a true love, which I would gladly pay as a debt due for yours to me."

* 1548.

This

This request being granted, the doctor exprest himself thus:

"Mr. Donne, I know your education and abilities; I know your expectation of a state-employment; and I know your fitness for it; and I know too, the many delays and contingencies that attend court-promises; and let me tell you, that my love begot by our long friendship, and your merits, hath prompted me to such an inquisition after your present temporal estate, as makes me no stranger to your necessities; which I know to be such as your generous spirit could not bear, if it were not supported with a pious patience. You know I have formerly perswaded you to wave your court-hopes, and enter into holy orders; which I now again perswade you to embrace, with this reason added to my former request: the king hath yesterday made me dean of Glocester, and I am also possessed of a benefice [3]; the profits of which are

[3] *Possessed of a benefice.*] "He willingly and freely offered to resign unto him the rectory of Long-Marston in Yorkshire, being of the yearly value *(plus minus)* of two hundred pounds *per annum*; yet to this friendly motion he would not then give his assent, but put it by, in hope (as it should seem) of some other preferment, for which he thought himself more fit.

"And long after the said Mr. Donne, having grappled with many extremities at home, he passed over into France, where he gave himself to the study of the laws: and from Amiens, as I remember, he writ a letter to his always true friend Dean Morton, wherein he requested his advice, whether taking the degree of a doctor in that profession of the laws, it might not be conducible and advantageous unto him to practice at home in the Arches, London. Unto whom the dean then returned him answer, that in his judgment, he thought the ministry in the church of God would be safer, and fitter for him: Whereupon he desisted from further prosecution of those studies.

"For doubtless the Holy Spirit had the greatest stroke and power to incline and draw him to that sacred profession: for myself have long since seen his picture in a dear friend's cham-

are equal to those of my deanery, I will think my deanery enough for my maintenance (who am, and resolve to die a single man) and will quit my benefice, and estate you in it, (which the patron is willing I shall do) if God shall incline your heart to embrace this motion. Remember, Mr. Donne, no man's education or parts make him too good for this employment, which is to be an ambassador for the God of glory, that God who by a vile death opened the gates of life to mankind. Make me no present answer, but remember your promise, and return to me the third day with your resolution."

At the hearing of this, Mr. Donne's faint breath and perplext countenance give a visible testimony of an inward conflict; but he performed his promise and departed without returning an answer till the third day, and then his answer was to this effect:

"My most worthy and most dear friend, since I saw you, I have been faithful to my promise, and have also meditated much of your great kindness, which hath been such as would exceed even my gratitude; but that it cannot do; and more I cannot return you; and I do that with an heart full of humility and thanks, though I may not accept of your

ber of his in Lincoln's-inn, all enveloped with a darkish shadow, his face and feature hardly discernable, with this ejaculation and wish written thereon, *Domine illumina tenebras meas*, which long after was really accomplished, when by K. James' weighty and powerful persuasions he took holy orders.

"For a close concerning this learned gentleman, I will add one instance of his ripe and sudden wit. For at one time, when bishop Morton gave him a good quantity of gold, (then a useful token) saying, *Here, Mr. Donne, take this, gold is restorative*; he presently answered, *Sir, I doubt I shall never restore it back again*; and I am assured that he never did." *Life of Dr. Thomas Morton, late Bishop of Duresme*, by J. N. (Dr. Joseph Nelson) Yorke, A. D. 1699, p. 99.

your offer: but, sir, my refusal is not for that I think myself too good for that calling, for which kings, if they think so, are not good enough: nor, for that my education and learning, though not eminent, may not, being assisted with God's grace, and humility, render me in some measure fit for it; but, I dare make, so dear a friend as you are my confessor: some irregularities of my life have been so visible to some men, that though I have, I thank God, made my peace with him by penitential resolutions against them, and by the assistance of his grace banished them my affections; yet this, which God knows to be so, is not so visible to man, as to free me from their censures, and it may be that sacred calling from a dishonor. And besides; whereas it is determined by the best of casuists, that God's glory should be the first end, and a maintenance the second motive to embrace that calling; and though each man may propose to himself both together, yet the first may not be put last without a violation of conscience, which he that searches the heart will judge. And truly my present condition is such, that if I ask my own conscience, whether it be reconcileable to that rule, it is at this time so perplexed about it, that I can neither give myself nor you an answer. You know, sir, who says *Happy is that man, whose conscience doth not accuse him for that thing which he does.* To these I might add other reasons that disswade me; but I crave your favour that I may forbear to express them, and thankfully decline your offer."

This was his present resolution; but, the heart of man is not in his own keeping; and he was destined to this sacred service by an higher hand; a hand so powerful, as at last forced him to a compliance: of which I shall give the reader an account before I shall give a rest to my pen.

Mr.

Mr. Donne and his wife continued with sir Francis Wolly till his death; a little before which time, sir Francis was so happy as to make a perfect reconciliation betwixt Sir George and his forsaken son and daughter; sir George conditioning by bond, to pay to Mr. Donne 800*l.* at a certain day, as a portion with his wife, or 20*l.* quarterly for their maintenance, as the interest for it, till the said portion was paid.

Most of those years that he lived with sir Francis, he studied the Civil and Canon Laws; in which he acquired such a perfection as was judged to hold proportion with many who had made that study the employment of their whole life.

Sir Francis being dead, and that happy family dissolved, Mr. Donne took for himself a house in Mitcham (near to Croydon in Surrey) a place noted for good air, and choice company: there his wife and children remained: and for himself he took lodgings in London, near to Whitehall, whither his friends and occasions drew him very often, and where he was as often visited by many of the nobility and others of this nation, who used him in their counsels of greatest consideration; and with some rewards for his better subsistence.

Nor did our own nobility only value and favour him, but his acquaintance and friendship was sought for by most ambassadors of foreign nations, and by many other strangers, whose learning or business occasioned their stay in this nation.

He was much importuned by many friends to make his constant residence in London; but he still denied it, having settled his dear wife and children at Mitcham, and near some friends that were bountiful to them and him: for they, God knows, needed it: and that you may the better now judge

of

of the then present condition of his mind and fortune, I shall present you with an extract collected out of some few of his many letters.

—— "And the reason why I did not send an answer to your last week's letter, was, because it then found me under too great a sadness; and at present it is thus with me: there is not one person, but myself, well of my family: I have already lost half a child, and with that mischance of her's, my wife is fallen into such a discomposure, as would afflict her too extremely, but that the sickness of all her other children stupifies her: of one of which, in good faith, I have not much hope: and these meet with a fortune so ill provided for physic, and such relief, that if God should ease us with burials, I know not how to perform even that: but, I flatter myself with this hope, that I am dying too; for, I cannot waste faster than by such griefs. As for,——

From my hospital at Micham,

Aug. 10. JOHN DONNE."

Thus he did bemoan himself: and thus in other *letters.*

— "For, we hardly discover a sin, when it is but an omission of some good, and no accusing act; with this or the former, I have often suspected myself to be overtaken; which is, with an over earnest desire of the next life: and though I know it is not merely a weariness of this, because I had the same desire when I went with the tide, and enjoyed fairer hopes than I now do; yet I doubt worldly troubles have encreased it. It is now spring, and all the pleasures of it displease me,; every other tree blossoms, and I wither: I grow older and not better; my strength diminish-

eth,

eth and my load grows heavier; and yet, I would fain be or do something: but, that I cannot tell what, is no wonder in this time of my sadness; for, to choose is to do; but, to be no part of any body, is as to be nothing; and so I am, and shall so judge myself unless I could be so incorporated into a part of the world, as by business to contribute some sustentation to the whole. This I made account, I began early when I undertook the study of our laws: but was diverted by leaving and embracing the worst voluptuousness, and hydroptique immoderate desire of human learning and languages: beautiful ornaments indeed to men of great fortunes; but mine is grown so low as to need an occupation: which I thought I entered well into, when I subjected myself to such a service as I thought might exercise my poor abilities; and there I stumbled, and fell too: and now I am become so little, or such a nothing, that I am not a subject good enough for one of my own letters.—Sir, I fear my present discontent does not proceed from a good root, that I am so well content to be nothing, that is, dead. But, Sir, though my fortune hath made me such, as that I am rather a sickness or a disease of the world, than any part of it, and therefore neither love it nor life; yet, I would gladly live to become some such thing as you should not repent loving me. Sir, your own soul cannot be more zealous for your good then I am, and, God who loves that zeal in me, will not suffer you to doubt it. You would pity me now, if you saw me write, for my pain hath drawn my head so much awry, and holds it so, that my eye cannot follow my pen. I therefore receive you into my prayers with mine own weary soul, and commend myself to your's. I doubt not but next week will bring you good news, for I have either

mending

mending or dying on my side: but, if I do continue longer thus, I shall have comfort in this, that my blessed Savour in exercising his justice upon my two worldly parts, my fortune and my body, reserves all his mercy for that which most needs it, my soul, which is, I doubt, too like a porter, that is very often too near the gate, and yet goes not out. Sir, I profess to you truly, that my lothness to give over writing now, seems to myself a sign that I shall write no more—

Your poor friend, and

Sept. 7.

God's poor patient

JOHN DONNE."

By this you have seen a part of the picture of his narrow fortune, and the perplexities of his generous mind: and, thus it continued with him for about two years; all which time his family remained constantly at Mitcham; and, to which place he often retired himself, and destined some days to a constant study of some points of controversy betwixt the English and Roman Church; and especially those of supremacy and allegiance: and, to that place and such studies he could have wedded himself during his life: but, the earnest persuasion of friends, became at last to be so powerful, as to cause the removal of himself and family to London, where Sir Robert Drury, a gentleman of a very noble estate, and a more liberal mind, assigned him and his wife an useful apartment in his own large house in Drury Lane, and, not only rent-free, but was also a cherisher of his studies, and such a friend as sympathized with him and his in all their joy and sorrows.

At

At this time of Mr. Donne's, and his wife's living in sir Robert's house, the lord Hay was by king James sent upon a glorious embassy to the then French king Henry the fourth, and sir Robert put on sudden resolution to accompany him to the French Court, and to be present at his audience there. And sir Robert put on as sudden a resolution, to solicit Mr. Donne to be his companion in that journey. And this desire was suddenly made known to his wife, who was then with child, and otherways, under so dangerous a habit of body, as to her health, that she profest an unwillingness to allow him any absence from her; saying, her divining soul boded her some ill in his absence; and therefore, desired him not to leave her. This made Mr. Donne lay aside all thoughts of the journey, and really to resolve against it. But Sir Robert became restless in his persuasions for it; and Mr. Donne was so generous, as to think he had sold his liberty when he received so many charitable kindnesses from him: and, told his wife so; who did therefore with an unwilling-willingness give a faint consent to the journey, which was proposed to be but for two months: for, about that time they determined their return.—Within a few days after this resolve, the Embassador, Sir Robert, and Mr. Donne left London; and were the twelfth day got all safe to Paris.—Two days after their arrival there, Mr. Donne was left alone, in that room in which Sir Robert, and he, and some other friends had dined together. To this place Sir Robert returned within half an hour; and, as he left, so he found Mr. Donne alone; but, in such an ecstasy, and so altered as to his looks, as amazed Sir Robert to behold him: insomuch that he earnestly desired Mr. Donne to declare what had befallen him in the short time of his absence? To which Mr.

Mr. Dónne was not able to make a present answer: but, after a long and perplext pause, did at last say, "I have seen a dreadful vision since I saw you: I have seen my dear wife pass twice by me through this room, with her hair hanging about her shoulders, and a dead child in her arms: this I have seen since I saw you." To which sir Robert replied; "Sure sir, you have slept since I saw you; and this is the result of some melancholy dream, which I desire you to forget, for you are now awake." To which Mr. Donne's reply was; "I cannot be surer that I now live, than that I have not slept since I saw you: and am as sure that at her second appearing she stopt and looked me in the face and vanisht."—Rest and sleep had not altered Mr. Donne's opinion the next day: for he then affirmed this vision with a more deliberate, and so confirmed a confidence, that he inclined sir Robert to a faint belief that the vision was true.—It is truly said, that desire and doubt have no rest: and it proved so with sir Robert, for he immediately sent a servant to Drury house with a charge to hasten back, and bring him word, whether Mrs. Donne were alive? and if alive, in what condition she was as to her health?—The twelfth day the messenger returned with this account.—That he found and left Mrs. Donne very sad, and sick in her bed: and that after a long and dangerous labour she had been delivered of a dead child. And, upon examination, the abortion proved to be the same day, and about the very hour that Mr. Donne affirmed he saw her pass by him in his chamber.

This is a relation that will beget some wonder: and, it well may; for most of our world are at present possest with an opinion that visions and miracles are ceased. And, though it is most certain, that

that two lutes, being both strung and tuned to an equal pitch, and then, one played upon, the other that is not touched, being laid upon a table at a fit distance, will (like an echo to a trumpet) warble a faint audible harmony, in answer to the same tune: yet many will not believe there is any such thing, as a sympathy of souls; and I am well pleased, that every reader do enjoy his own opinion: but, if the unbelieving will not allow the believing reader of this story a liberty to believe that it may be true; then, I wish him to consider, many wise men have believed, that, the ghost of Julius Cæsar did appear to Brutus, and that both St. Austin, and Monica his mother had visions in order to his conversion. And, though these and many others (too many to name) have but the authority of human story, yet, the incredible reader may find in the sacred story, 1 Sam. xxviii. that Samuel did appear to Saul even after his death (whether really or not, I undertake not to determine). And, Bildad in the book of Job, says these words, Job iv. *A spirit passed before my face, the hair of my head stood up, fear and trembling came upon me, and made all my bones to shake.* Upon which words I will make no comment, but leave them to be considered by the incredulous reader; to whom I will also commend this following consideration; that there be many pious and learned men, that believe our merciful God hath assigned to every man a particular guardian angel, to be his constant monitor; and to attend him in all his dangers, both of body and soul. And the opinion that every man hath his particular angel, may gain some authority, by the relation of St. Peter's miraculous deliverance out of prison, Acts xii. not by many, but by one angel. And this belief may yet gain more credit, by the reader's considering that when Peter after his enlargement

largement knocked at the door of Mary the mother of John; and Rode, the maid servant, being surprised with joy that Peter was there, did not let him in, but ran in haste and told the disciples (who were then, and there met together) that Peter was at the door; and, they not believing it, *said she was mad:* yet, when she again affirmed it, though they then believed it not, yet they concluded, and said; *It is his angel.*

More observations of this nature, and inferences from them, might be made to gain the relation a firmer belief; but I forbear, least, I that intended to be but a relator, may be thought to be an engaged person for the proving what was related to me: and yet, I think myself bound to declare, that though it was not told me by Mr. Donne himself, it was told me (now long since) by a person of honour, and of such intimacy with him, that he knew more of the secrets of his soul, than any person then living: and I think they told me the truth; for, it was told with such circumstances, and such asseveration, that (to say nothing of my own thoughts) I verily believe he that told it me, did himself believe it to be true.

I forbear the reader's farther trouble as to the relation, and what concerns it; and will conclude mine, with commending to his view a copy of verses given by Mr. Donne to his wife at the time that he then parted from her. And I beg leave to tell, that I have heard some critics, learned both in languages and poetry say, that none of the Greek or Latin poets did ever equal them.

A VALEDICTORY, FORBIDDING TO MOURN.

As virtuous men pass mildly away,
And whisper to their souls to go,
Whilst some of their sad friends do say,
The breath goes now, and some say no:

So let us melt, and make no noise;
No winds-sighs, or tear-floods us move;
'Twere profanation of our joys,
To tell the laity our love.

Movings of th' earth cause harms, and fears:
Men reckon what they did or meant:
But trepidation of the spheres,
Though greater far, is innocent.

Dull sublunary lovers love,
(Whose soul is sense) cannot admit
Absence; because that doth remove
Those things that elemented it.

But we by a soul so much refin'd,
That our souls know not what it is,
Inter-assured of the mind,
Care not, hands, eyes, or lips to miss.

Our two souls [4] therefore which are one,
Though I must go, endure not yet
A breach, but an expansion,
Like gold, to airy thinness beat.

If

[4] *Our two souls.*] "To the following comparison of a man that travels, and his wife that stays at home, with a pair of compasses,

If we be two, we are two so
As stiff twin-compasses are two:
Thy soul, the fixed foot, makes no show
To move, but does, if th' other do.

And, though thine in the centre sit,
Yet, when my other far does roam,
Thine leans, and hearkens after it,
And grows erect as mine comes home.

Such thou must be to me, who must
Like th' other foot, obliquely run:
Thy firmness makes my circle just,
And me to end, where I begun.

I return from my account of the vision, to tell the reader, that both before Mr. Donne's going into France, at his being there, and after his return many of the nobility, and others that were powerful at court, were watchful and solicitous to the king for some secular employment for him. The king had formerly both known and put a value upon his company; and had also given him some hopes of a state-employment; being always much pleased when Mr. Donne attended him, especially at his meals, where there were usually many deep discourses of general learning: and very often friendly disputes or debates of religion betwixt his majesty and those divines, whose places required their attendance on him at those times: particularly the dean of the chapel: who then was bishop Montague (the publisher of the learned and eloquent works of his majesty) and the most reverend doctor

compasses, it may be doubted whether absurdity or ingenuity has the better claim." Johnson's Critique on the Metaphysical Poets in his *Life of Cowley*, Works, Vol. IX. p. 33.

Andrews,

Andrews, the late learned bishop of Winchester, who was then the king's almoner.

About this time, there grew many disputes that concerned the oath of supremacy and allegiance, in which the king had appeared, and engaged himself by his public writings now extant: and, his majesty discoursing with Mr. Donne, concerning many of the reasons which are usually urged against the taking of those oaths, apprehended such a validity and clearness in his stating the questions, and his answers to them, that his majesty commanded him to bestow some time in drawing the arguments into a method, and then to write his answers to them; and, having done that, not to send, but be his own messenger and bring them to him. To this he presently and diligently applied himself, and, within six weeks brought them to him under his own hand-writing, as they be now printed; the book bearing the name of Pseudo-Martyr, printed anno 1610.

When the king had read and considered that book, he persuaded Mr. Donne to enter into the ministry; to which at that time he was, and appeared very unwilling, apprehending it (such was his mistaken modesty) to be too weighty for his abilities; and though his majesty had promised him a favour, and many persons of worth mediated with his majesty for some secular imployment for him (to which his education had apted him) and particularly the earl of Somerset, when in his greatest height of favour; who being then at Theobalds with the king, where one of the clerks of the council died, that night the earl posted a messenger for Mr. Donne to come to him immediately, and at Mr. Donne's coming, said "Mr. Donne, to testify the reality of my affection, and my purpose to prefer you, stay in this garden till

till I go up to the king, and bring you word that you are clerk of the council: doubt not my doing this, for I know the king loves you, and know the king will not deny me." But the king gave a positive denial to all requests, and having a discerning spirit replied, "I know Mr. Donne is a learned man, has the abilities of a learned divine, and will prove a powerful preacher; and my desire is to prefer him that way; and in that way I will deny you nothing for him." After that time, as he professeth, * the king descended to a persuasion, almost to a solicitation of him to enter into sacred orders; which though he then denied not, yet he deferred it for almost three years. All which time he applied himself to an incessant study of textual divinity, and to the attainment of a greater perfection in the learned languages, Greek and Hebrew.

In the first and most blessed times of christianity, when the clergy were looked upon with reverence, and deserved it, when they overcame their opposers by high examples of virtue, by a blessed patience and long suffering; those only were then judged worthy the ministry, whose quiet and meek spirits did make them look upon that sacred calling with an humble adoration and fear to undertake it; which indeed requires such great degrees of humility, and labour, and care, that none but such were then thought worthy of that celestial dignity. And such only were then sought out, and solicited to undertake it. This I have mentioned, because forwardness and inconsideration could not in Mr. Donne, as in many others, be an argument of insufficiency or unfitness; for he had considered long, and had many strifes within himself concerning the strictness of life and competency of learning required in such as enter into sacred orders; and

* In his Book of Devotions.

doubtless, considering his own demerits, did humbly ask God with St. Paul, *Lord, who is sufficient for these things?* and with meek Moses, *Lord, who am I?* And sure, if he had consulted with flesh and blood, he had not for these reasons put his hand to that holy plough. But God, who is able to prevail, wrestled with him, as the angel did with Jacob, *and marked him;* marked him for his own; marked him with a blessing; a blessing of obedience to the motions of his blessed spirit. And then, as he had formerly asked God with Moses, *Who am I?* so now, being inspired with an apprehension of God's particular mercy to him, in the king's and others solicitations of him, he came to ask king David's thankful question, *Lord, who am I, that thou art so mindful of me?* So mindful of me as to lead me for more than forty years through this wilderness of the many temptations and various turnings of a dangerous life; so merciful to me as to move the learnedest of kings to descend to move me to serve at the altar; so merciful to me as at last to move my heart to embrace this holy motion! Thy motions I will and do embrace: and I now say with the blessed Virgin, *Be it with thy servant as seemeth best in thy sight:* and so, blessed Jesus, I do take the cup of salvation, and will call upon thy name, and will preach thy Gospel.

Such strifes as these St. Austin had when St. Ambrose endeavoured his conversion to Christianity; with which he confesseth he acquainted his friend Alipius. Our learned author (a man fit to write after no mean copy) did the like. And declaring his intentions to his dear friend Dr. King, then bishop of London, a man famous in his generation, and no stranger to Mr. Donne's abilities, (for he had been chaplain to the lord chancellor

at

at the time of Mr. Donne's being his lordship's secretary) that reverend man did receive the news with much gladness; and, after some expressions of joy, and a persuasion to be constant in his pious purpose, he proceeded with all convenient speed to ordain him first deacon, and then priest not long after.

Now the English church had gained a second St. Austin; for I think none was so like him before his conversion; none so like St. Ambrose after it: and if his youth had the infirmities of the one, his age had the excellencies of the other; the learning and holiness of both.

And now all his studies, which had been occasionally diffused, were all concentred in divinity. Now he had a new calling, new thoughts, and a new employment for his wit and eloquence: now all his earthly affections were changed into divine love, and all the faculties of his own soul were engaged in the conversion of others: in preaching the glad tidings of remission to repenting sinners, and peace to each troubled soul. To these he applied himself with all care and diligence: and now such a change was wrought in him, that he could say with David, *Oh how amiable are thy tabernacles, O Lord God of Hosts!* Now he declared openly, that when he required a temporal, God gave him a spiritual blessing; and that he was now gladder to be a door-keeper in the house of God, than he could be to enjoy the noblest of all temporal employments.

Presently after he entered into his holy profession the king sent for him, and made him his chaplain in ordinary, and promised to take a particular care for his preferment.

And though his long familiarity with scholars and persons of greatest quality was such as might

have given some men boldness enough to have preached to any eminent auditory, yet his modesty in this employment was such, that he could not be persuaded to it, but went usually accompanied with some one friend, to preach privately in some village not far from London; his first sermon being preached at Paddington. This he did till his Majesty sent and appointed him a day to preach to him at Whitehall; and though much were expected from him, both by his Majesty and others, yet he was so happy (which few are) as to satisfy and exceed their expectations; preaching the word so as shewed his own heart was possest with those very thoughts and joys that he laboured to distil into others: a preacher in earnest; weeping sometimes for his auditory, sometimes with them: always preaching to himself, like an angel from a cloud, but in none; carrying some, as St. Paul was, to heaven in holy raptures, and enticing others by a sacred art and courtship to amend their lives: here picturing a vice so as to make it ugly to those that practised it; and a virtue so as to make it be beloved even by those that loved it not; and all this with a most particular grace and an inexpressible addition of comeliness.

There may be some that may incline to think (such indeed as have not heard him) that my affection to my friend hath transported me to an immoderate commendation of his preaching. If this meets with any such, let me intreat, though I will omit many, yet that they will receive a double witness for what I say; it being attested by a gentleman of worth (Mr. Chidley, a frequent hearer of his sermons) in part of a funeral elegy writ by him on Dr. Donne, and is a known truth, though it be in verse.

——Each altar had his fire——
He kept his love, but not his object: wit
He did not banish, but transplanted it;
Taught it both time and place, and brought it home
To piety, which it doth best become.
For say, had ever pleasure such a dress?
Have you seen crimes so shap'd, or loveliness
Such as his lips did clothe religion in?
Had not reproof a beauty passing sin?
Corrupted nature sorrowed that she stood
So near the danger of becoming good.
And when he preach'd she wish'd her ears exempt
From piety, that had such power to tempt.
How did his sacred flattery beguile
Men to amend!——

More of this, and more witnesses might be brought, but I forbear, and return.

That summer, in the very same month in which he entered into sacred orders, and was made the king's chaplain, his Majesty then going his progress, was entreated to receive an entertainment in the University of Cambridge.* And Mr. Donne attending his Majesty at that time, his Majesty was pleased to recommend him to the University, to be made doctor in divinity. Doctor Harsnet (after archbishop of York) was then vice-chancellor, who knowing him to be the author of that learned book the Pseudo-Martyr, required no other proof of his abilities, but proposed it to the University, who presently assented, and expressed a gladness that they had such an occasion to entitle him to be theirs.

His abilities and industry in his profession were so eminent, and he so known and so beloved by persons of quality, that within the first year of his entering into sacred orders he had fourteen advow-

sons

sons of several benefices presented to him; but they were in the country, and he could not leave his beloved London, to which place he had a natural inclination, having received both his birth and education in it, and there contracted a friendship with many, whose conversation multiplied the joys of his life; but an employment that might affix him to that place would be welcome, for he needed it.

Immediately after his return from Cambridge his wife died, leaving him a man of a narrow unsettled estate, and (having buried five) the careful father of seven children then living, to whom he gave a voluntary assurance never to bring them under the subjection of a step-mother; which promise he kept most faithfully, burying with his tears all his earthly joys in his most dear and deserving wife's grave, and betook himself to a most retired and solitary life.

In this retiredness, which was often from the sight of his dearest friends, he became crucified to the world, and all those vanities, those imaginary pleasures that are daily acted on that restless stage; and they were as perfectly crucified to him. Nor is it hard to think (being passions may be both changed and heightened by accidents) but that that abundant affection which once was betwixt him and her, who had long been the delight of his eyes and the companion of his youth; her with whom he had divided so many pleasant sorrows and contented fears, as common people are not capable of; not hard to think but that she being now removed by death, a commeasurable grief took as full a possession of him as joy had done; and so indeed it did: for now his very soul was elemented of nothing but sadness; now grief took so full a possession of his heart as to leave no place for joy: if it did, it

was

was a joy to be alone, where like a pelican in the wilderness, he might bemoan himself without witness or restraint, and pour forth his passions like Job in the days of his affliction, *Oh that I might have the desire of my heart! Oh that God would grant the thing that I long for!* for then, *as the grave is become her house*, so I would hasten to make it mine also, *that we two might there make our beds together in the dark.* Thus as the Israelites sate mourning by the rivers of Babylon, when they remembered Sion, so he gave some ease to his oppressed heart by thus venting his sorrows. Thus he began the day and ended the night; ended the restless night and began the weary day in lamentations. And thus he continued, till a consideration of his new engagements to God, and St. Paul's *Wo is me if I preach not the Gospel*, dispersed those sad clouds that had then benighted his hopes, and now forced him to behold the light.

His first motion from his house was to preach where his beloved wife lay buried (in St. Clement's church, near Temple-bar, London,) and his text was a part of the prophet Jeremiah's Lamentation: *Lo, I am the man that have seen affliction.*

And indeed his very words and looks testified him to be truly such a man; and they with the addition of his sighs and tears, expressed in his sermon, did so work upon the affections of his hearers as melted and moulded them into a companionable sadness, and so they left the congregation; but then their houses presented them with objects of diversion, and his presented him with nothing but fresh objects of sorrow, in beholding many helpless children, a narrow fortune, and a consideration of the many cares and casualties that attend their education.

In

In this time of sadness he was importuned by the grave benchers of Lincoln's Inn, who were once the companions and friends of his youth, to accept of their lecture, which, by reason of Dr. Gataker's removal from thence, was then void; of which he accepted, being most glad to renew his intermitted friendship with those whom he so much loved; and where he had been a Saul, though not to persecute Christianity, or to deride it, yet in his irregular youth to neglect the visible practice of it, there to become a Paul, and preach salvation to his beloved brethren.

And now his life was as a shining light among his old friends: now he gave an ocular testimony of the strictness and regularity of it: now he might say as St. Paul adviseth his Corinthians, *Be ye followers of me, as I follow Christ, and walk as ye have me for an example;* not the example of a busybody, but of a contemplative, a harmless, an humble, and an holy life and conversation.

The love of that noble society was expressed to him many ways; for, besides fair lodgings that were set apart and newly furnished for him with all necessaries, other courtesies were also daily added; indeed, so many and so freely, as if they meant their gratitude should exceed his merits; and in this love-strife of desert and liberality they continued for the space of two years, he preaching faithfully and constantly to them, and they liberally requiting him. About which time the emperor of Germany died, and the Palsgrave, who had lately married the lady Elizabeth, the king's only daughter, was elected and crowned king of Bohemia, the unhappy beginning of many miseries in that nation.

King James, whose motto *(Beati pacifici)* did truly speak

speak the very thoughts of his heart, endeavoured first to prevent, and after to compose the discords of that discomposed state: and amongst other his endeavours did send then the lord Hay, earl of Doncaster, his ambassador to those unsettled princes; and by a special command from his Majesty Dr. Donne was appointed to assist and attend that employment to the princes of the union; for which the earl was most glad, who had always put a great value on him, and taken a great pleasure in his conversation and discourse; and his friends of Lincoln's Inn were as glad, for they feared that his immoderate study and sadness for his wife's death would, as Jacob said, *make his days few*, and respecting his bodily health, *evil* too; and of this there were many visible signs.

At his going, he left his friends of Lincoln's Inn, and they him, with many reluctations; for though he could not say as St. Paul to his Ephesians, *Behold you, to whom I have preached the kingdom of God, shall from henceforth see my face no more*, yet he, believing himself to be in a consumption, questioned, and they feared it; all concluding that his troubled mind, with the help of his unintermitted studies, hastened the decays of his weak body. But God, who is the God of all wisdom and goodness, turned it to the best: for this employment (to say nothing of the event of it) did not only divert him from those too serious studies and sad thoughts, but seemed to give him a new life by a true occasion of joy to be an eye-witness of the health of his most dear and most honoured mistress the queen of Bohemia, in a foreign nation, and to be a witness of that gladness which she expressed to see him; who, having formerly known him as a courtier, was much joyed to see him in a canonical

canonical habit, and more glad to be an ear-witness of his excellent and powerful preaching.

About fourteen months after his departure out of England, he returned to his friends of Lincoln's Inn, with his sorrows moderated and his health improved, and there betook himself to his constant course of preaching.

About a year after [5] his return out of Germany, Dr. Cary was made bishop of Exeter, and by his removal the deanery of St. Paul's being vacant, the king sent for Dr. Donne, and appointed him to attend him at dinner the next day. When his Majesty was sat down, before he had eat any meat, he said after this pleasant manner, "Dr. Donne, I have invited you to dinner; and though you sit not down with me, yet I will carve to you of a dish that I know you love well; for knowing you love London, I do therefore make you dean of Paul's; and when I have dined, then do you take your beloved dish home to your study, say grace there to yourself, and much good may it do you."

Immediately after he came to his deanery he employed workmen to repair and beautify the chapel; suffering, as holy David once vowed, *his eyes and temples to take no rest, till he had first beautified the house of God.*

The next quarter following, when his father-in-law, Sir George Moor, (whom time had made a lover and admirer of him) came to pay to him the conditioned sum of twenty pounds, he refused to receive it, and said (as good Jacob did, when he heard his beloved son Joseph was alive, *It is enough*) "You have been kind to me and mine: I know

[5] *About a year after.*] He was elected Dean, Nov. 27, 1621. Le Neve's *Fasti*. p. 185.

your

your present condition is such as not to abound; and I hope mine is or will be such as not to need it; I will therefore receive no more from you upon that contract;" and in testimony of it freely gave him up his bond.

Immediately after his admission into his deanery, the vicarage of St. Dunstan in the West, London, fell to him by the death of Dr. White; the advowson of it having been given to him long before by his honourable friend, Richard earl of Dorset, then the patron, and confirmed by his brother, the late deceased Edward, both of them men of much honour.

By these and another ecclesiastical endowment which fell to him about the same time, given to him formerly by the earl of Kent, he was enabled to become charitable to the poor, and kind to his friends, and to make such provision for his children, that they were not left scandalous as relating to their or his profession and quality.

The next parliament, which was within that present year, he was chosen prolocutor to the convocation; and about that time was appointed by his Majesty, his most gracious master, to preach very many occasional sermons, as at St. Paul's Cross, and other places. All which employments he performed to the admiration of the representative body of the whole clergy of this nation.

He was once, and but once, clouded with the king's displeasure; and it was about this time; which was occasioned by some malicious whisperer, who had told his Majesty that Dr. Donne had put on the general humour of the pulpits, and was become busy in insinuating a fear of the king's inclining to popery, and a dislike of his government; and particularly for the king's then turning the evening

evening lectures [6] into catechising, and expounding the Prayer of our Lord, and of the Belief, and

[6] *Turning the evening lectures.*] The King's Directions concerning Preachers and Preaching may be seen in Collier's *Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. II. p. 723. Heylin's *Life of Laud*, p. 97. Wilkins's *Concil.* Vol. IV. p. 465, &c. It would be easy to inlarge upon the extravagant outcries which these Directions occasioned amongst the Puritans and Calvinists; but let us be contented rather to turn ourselves to the healing, wise, and pious observations of the excellent Bishop Hall.

"It was the observation of the learnedest King that ever sate hitherto in the English throne, that the cause of the miscarriage of our people into Popery, and other errors, was their ungroundedness in the points of Catechism. How should those souls be but carried about with every wind of doctrine, that are not well balasted with solid informations? Whence it was that his said late Majesty, of happy memory, gave publick order for bestowing the later part of God's Day in familiar Catechising; than which nothing could be devised more necessary, and behoveful to the souls of men. It was the ignorance, and ill-disposedness of some cavillers, that taxed this course as prejudicial to preachings; since in truth the most useful of all preaching is catechetical. This being the grounds, the other raiseth the walls and roof. This informs the judgment, that stirs up the affections. What good use is there of those affections that run before the judgment; or of those walls that want a foundation? For my part, I have spent the greater half of my life in this station of our holy service; I thank God, not unpainfully, nor unprofitably. But there is no one thing whereof I repent so much, as not to have bestowed more hours in this publick exercise of Catechism, in regard whereof I would quarrel with my very Sermons, and wish that a great part of them had been exchanged for this preaching conference. Those other Divine Discourses enrich the brain and the tongue; this settles the heart. Those other are but the descants to this plain song. Contemn it not, my Brethren, for the easy and noted homeliness. The most excellent and most beneficial things are most familiar." Dedication to *The Old Religion.* Works. Vol. II. folio. Doctor Donne himself vindicated the Directions respecting Catechizing very ably and satisfactorily in a Sermon preached at Paul's Cross, Sept. 15. 1622, and printed, singly, in the same year. See p. 44—68.

Commandments.

Commandments. His Majesty was the more inclinable to believe this, for that a person of nobility and great note, betwixt whom and Dr. Donne there had been a great friendship, was at this very time discarded the Court (I shall forbear his name, unless I had a fairer occasion) and justly committed to prison; which begot many rumours in the common people, who in this nation think they are not wise unless they be busy about what they understand not; and especially about religion.

The king received this news with so much discontent and restlessness, that he would not suffer the sun to set and leave him under this doubt, but sent for Dr. Donne, and required his answer to the accusation; which was so clear and satisfactory, that the king said he was right glad he rested no longer under the suspicion. When the king had said this, doctor Donne kneeled down and thanked his Majesty, and protested his answer was faithful and free from all collusion, and therefore desired that he might not rise till, as in like cases he always had from God, so he might have from his Majesty, some assurance that he stood clear and fair in his opinion. At which the king raised him from his knees with his own hands, and protested he believed him; and that he knew he was an honest man, and doubted not but that he loved him truly. And having thus dismissed him, he called some lords of his council into his chamber, and said with much earnestness, "My doctor is an honest man: and, my lords, I was never better satisfied with an answer than he hath now made me: and I always rejoice when I think that by my means he became a divine."

He was made dean the fiftieth year of his age; and in his fifty-fourth year a dangerous sickness seized him, which inclined him to a consumption. But,

But God, as Job thankfully acknowledged, *preserved his spirit*, and kept his intellectuals as clear and perfect as when that sickness first seized his body; but it continued long and threatened him with death, which he dreaded not.

In this distemper of body, his dear friend doctor Henry King (then chief residentiary of that church, and late bishop of Chichester) a man generally known by the clergy of this nation, and as generally noted for his obliging nature, visited him daily; and observing that his sickness rendered his recovery doubtful, he chose a seasonable time to speak to him to this purpose.

"Mr. Dean, I am by your favour no stranger to your temporal estate, and you are no stranger to the offer lately made us for the renewing a lease of the best prebends corps belonging to our church; and you know it was denied, for that our tenant being very rich, offered to fine at so low a rate as held not proportion with his advantages: but I will either raise him to an higher sum, or procure that the other residentiaries shall join to accept of what was offered: one of these I can and will by your favour do without delay, and without any trouble either to your body or mind. I beseech you to accept of my offer, for I know it will be a considerable addition to your present estate, which I know needs it."

To this, after a short pause, and raising himself upon his bed, he made this reply.

"My most dear friend, I most humbly thank you for your many favours, and this in particular: but, in my present condition, I shall not accept of your proposal; for doubtless there is such a sin as sacrilege; if there were not, it could not have a name in scripture. And the primitive clergy were watchful against all appearances of that evil; and indeed

indeed then all Christians looked upon it with horror and detestation; judging it to be even an open defiance of the power and providence of Almighty God, and a sad presage of a declining religion. But instead of such Christians, who had selected times set apart to fast and pray to God for a pious clergy which they then did obey, our times abound with men that are busy and litigious about trifles and church ceremonies; and yet so far from scrupling sacrilege that they make not so much as a *quære* what it is. But I thank God I have; and dare not now upon my sick bed, when Almighty God hath made me useless to the service of the church, make any advantages out of it. But if he shall again restore me to such a degree of health as again to serve at his altar, I shall then gladly take the reward which the bountiful benefactors of this church have designed me; for God knows my children and relations will need it. In which number my mother (whose credulity and charity has contracted a very plentiful to a very narrow estate) must not be forgotten: But, doctor King, if I recover not, that little worldly estate that I shall leave behind me (that very little, when divided into eight parts) must, if you deny me not so charitable a favour, fall into your hands, as my most faithful friend and executor; of whose care and justice I make no more doubt than of God's blessing on that which I have conscientiously collected for them; but it shall not be augmented on my sick bed; and this I declare to be my unalterable resolution."

The reply to this was only a promise to observe his request.

Within a few days his distempers abated; and as his strength increased so did his thankfulness to Almighty God, testified in his most excellent book of

of Devotions, which he published at his recovery. In which the reader may see the most secret thoughts that then possessed his soul, paraphrased and made public; a book that may not unfitly be called a sacred picture of spiritual ecstasies, occasioned and appliable to the emergencies of that sickness; which book, being a composition of meditations, disquisitions, and prayers, he writ on his sick bed; herein imitating the holy patriarchs, who were wont to build their altars in that place where they had received their blessings.

This sickness brought him so near to the gates of death, and he saw the grave so ready to devour him, that he would often say his recovery was supernatural; but that God that then restored his health continued it to him till the fifty-ninth year of his life. And then in August 1630, being with his eldest daughter, Mrs. Harvy, at Abury-hatch, in Essex, he there fell into a fever, which with the help of his constant infirmity (vapours from the spleen) hastened him into so visible a consumption, that his beholders might say, as St. Paul of himself, *He dies daily;* and he might say with Job, *My welfare passeth away as a cloud, the days of my affliction have taken hold of me, and weary nights are appointed for me.*

Reader, this sickness continued long, not only weakening but wearying him so much that my desire is, he may now take some rest; and that before I speak of his death, thou wilt not think it an impertinent digression to look back with me upon some observations of his life, which, whilst a gentle slumber gives rest to his spirits, may, I hope, not unfitly exercise thy consideration.

His marriage was the remarkable error of his life; an error which though he had a wit able and very apt to maintain paradoxes, yet he was very far from justifying

justifying it: and though his wife's competent years, and other reasons might be justly urged to moderate severe censures; yet, he would occasionally condemn himself for it: and doubtless it had been attended with an heavy repentance, if God had not blest them with so mutual and cordial affections, as in the midst of their sufferings made their bread of sorrow taste more pleasantly than the banquets of dull and low-spirited people.

The recreations of his youth were poetry, in which he was so happy, as if nature and all her varieties had been made only to exercise his sharp wit, and high fancy; and in those pieces which were facetiously composed and carelessly scattered (most of them being written before the twentieth year of his age) it may appear by his choice metaphors, that both nature and all the arts joined to assist him with their utmost skill.

It is a truth, that in his penitential years, viewing some of those pieces that had been loosely (God knows too loosely) scattered in his youth, he wished they had been abortive, or, so short lived that his own eyes had witnessed their funerals: but, though he was no friend to them, he was not so fallen out with heavenly poetry as to forsake that: no not in his declining age; witnessed then by many divine sonnets, and other high, holy, and harmonious composures. Yea, even on his former sick-bed he wrote this heavenly hymn, expressing the great joy that then possest his soul in the assurance of Gods favour to him when he composed it.

AN HYMN TO GOD THE FATHER.

Wilt thou forgive that sin where I begun,
Which was my sin, though it were done before?

Wilt thou forgive that sin through which I run,
And do run still though still I do deplore?
When thou hast done, thou hast not done,
For I have more.

Wilt thou forgive that sin, which I have won
Others to sin, and made my sin their door?
Wilt thou forgive that sin which I did shun
A year or two, but wallowed in a score?
When thou hast done, thou hast not done,
For I have more.

I have a sin of fear, that when I've spun
My last thread, I shall perish on the shore:
But swear by thyself, that at my death thy son
Shall shine as he shines now, and heretofore;
And having done that, thou hast done,
I fear no more.

I have the rather mentioned this hymn, for that he caused it to be set to a most grave and solemn tune, and to be often sung to the organ by the choristers of St. Paul's church, in his own hearing, especially at the evening service; and at his return from his customary devotions in that place, did occasionally say to a friend, "The words of this hymn have restored to me the same thoughts of joy that possest my soul in my sickness when I composed it. And, O the power of church-music! that harmony added to this hymn has raised the affections of my heart, and quickened my graces of zeal and gratitude; and I observe, that I always return from paying this public duty of prayer and praise to God, with an unexpressible tranquillity of mind, and a willingness to leave the world."

After this manner did the disciples of our Saviour, and the best of christians in those ages of the church

Church nearest to his time, offer their praises to Almighty God. And the reader of St. Augustine's life may there find, that towards his dissolution he wept abundantly, that the enemies of christianity had broke in upon them, and prophaned and ruined their sanctuaries; and, because their public hymns and lauds were lost out of their churches. And after this manner have many devout souls lifted up their hands and offered acceptable sacrifices unto Almighty God where Dr. Donne offered his, and now lies buried.

But now, oh Lord, how is that place become desolate[s]! 1656.

Before I proceed further, I think fit to inform the reader, that not long before his death he caused to be drawn a figure of the body of Christ extended upon an anchor, like those which painters draw when they would present us with the picture of Christ crucified on the cross: his varying no otherwise than to affix him not to a cross but to an anchor

[s] *Become desolate.*] "Thus fell Laud (Jan. 10. 1644), and St. Pauls fell with him: the yearly contribution toward whose repair, anno 1641, when he was plunged into his troubles fell from the sum of 15,000l. and upward to somewhat less than 1500, and afterwards by degrees to nothing. No less than 17138l. 13s. 4d. which remained in the chamber of London toward the carrying on of the work, is seized on by an order of both houses of parliament, for the beginning of their war against the king. Most of the materials intended for finishing the work, were turned into money: and the rest bestowed on the parish of St. Gregory's, for the rebuilding of that church: and all the scaffolding of the tower or steeple allotted to the payment of Jephson's regiment, who challenged an arrear of 1746l. 15s. 8d. for their service in that cruel and unnatural war. The pavement of the church digged up, and sold to the wealthier citizens for beautifying their country houses: the floor converted into saw-pits in many places, for cutting out

chor (the emblem of hope). This he caused to be drawn in little, and then many of those figures thus drawn to be engraven very small in Helitropian stones, and set in gold, and of these he sent to many of his dearest friends to be used as seals, or rings, and kept as memorials of him, and of his affection to them.

His dear friends and benefactors, sir Henry Goodier, and sir Robert Drewry, could not be of that number; nor could the lady Magdalen Herbert, the mother of George Herbert, for they had put off mortality, and taken possession of the grave before him: but sir Henry Wootton, and Dr. Hall, the then late deceased bishop of Norwich, were; and, so were Dr. Duppa, bishop of Salisbury, and Dr. Henry King bishop of Chichester (lately deceased) men, in whom there was such a commixture of general learning, of natural eloquence, and christian humility, that they deserve a commemoration by a pen equal to their own, which none have exceeded.

And in this enumeration of his friends, though many must be omitted, yet that man of primitive piety, Mr. George Herbert may not; I mean that George Herbert, who was the author of the Temple,

such timber as was turned into money: the lead torn off in some places also; the timber and arches of the roof being thereby exposed to wind and weather; part of the stonework which supported the tower or steeple fallen down, and threatening the like ruin unto all the rest: the gallant portico at the west end thereof obscured first by a new house looking towards Ludgate; and afterwards turned into an exchange for haberdashers of small wares, hosiers, and such petty chapmen: and finally the whole body of it converted to a stable or horse-garrison, for the better awing of that city, whose pride and faction raised the fire, and whose purse added fewel to it, for the inflaming of the kingdom." Heylin's *Life of Archbishop Laud*. p. 538.

of

or Sacred Poems and Ejaculations: a book, in which by declaring his own spiritual conflicts, he hath comforted and raised many a dejected and discomposed soul, and charmed them into sweet and quiet thoughts: a book, by the frequent reading whereof, and the assistance of that spirit that seemed to inspire the author, the reader may attain habits of peace and piety, and all the gifts of the Holy Ghost and heaven: and may by still reading, still keep those sacred fires burning upon the altar of so pure a heart, as shall free it from the anxieties of this world, and keep it fixt upon things that are above. Betwixt this George Herbert and Dr. Donne there was a long and dear friendship, made up by such a sympathy of inclinations, that they coveted and joyed to be in each others company; and this happy friendship, was still maintained by many sacred endearments; of which, that which followeth may be some testimony.

TO MR. GEORGE HERBERT; SENT HIM WITH ONE OF MY SEALS OF THE ANCHOR AND CHRIST. (A sheaf of snakes used heretofore to be my seal, which is the crest of our poor family.)

Qui prius assuetus serpentum falce tabellas
Signare, hæc nostræ symbola parva domus
Adscitus domui domini.——

Adopted in God's family, and so
My old coat lost into new arms I go.
The cross my seal in baptism spread below,
Does by that form into an anchor grow.
Crosses grow anchors, bear as thou should'st do
Thy cross, and that cross grows an anchor too.
But he that makes our crosses anchors thus,
Is Christ; who there is crucified for us.

Yet

Yet with this I may my first serpents hold:
(God gives new blessings, and yet leaves the old)
The serpent may as wise my pattern be;
My poison, as he feeds on dust, that's me.
And, as he rounds the earth to murder, sure,
He is my death; but on the cross my cure.
Crucify nature then; and then implore
All grace from him, crucified there before.
When all is cross, and that cross anchor grown,
This seal's a catechism, not a seal alone.
Under that little seal great gifts I send,
Both works and prayers, pawns and fruits of a friend.
Oh may that saint that rides on our great seal,
To you that bear his name large bounty deal.

JOHN DONNE.

IN SACRAM ANCHORAM PISCATORIS; GEORGE HERBERT.

Quod crux nequibat fixa clavique additi,
Tenere Christum scilicet ne ascenderet
Tuive Christum———

Although the cross could not Christ here detain,
When nail'd unto't, but he ascends again:
Nor yet thy eloquence here keep him still,
But only whilest thou speak'st; this anchor will:
Nor canst thou be content, unless thou to
This certain anchor add a seal, and so
The water and the earth, both unto thee
Do owe the symbol of their certainty.
Let the world reel, we and all ours stand sure,
This holy cable's from all storms secure.

GEORGE HERBERT.

I return

I return to tell the reader, that besides these verses to his dear Mr. Herbert, and that Hymn that I mentioned to be sung in the quire of St. Paul's church; he did also shorten and beguile many sad hours by composing other sacred ditties; and he writ an hymn on his death-bed, which bears this title.

AN HYMN TO GOD, MY GOD, IN MY SICKNESS,
March 23. 1630.

Since I am coming to that holy room,
Where, with thy quire of saints for evermore
I shall be made thy music, as I come
I tune my instrument here at the door,
And, what I must do then, think here before.

Since my physicians by their loves are grown
Cosmographers! and I their map, who lie
Flat on this bed———

So, in his purple wrapt receive me, Lord!
By these, his thorns, give me his other crown:
And, as to other souls I preach'd thy word,
Be this my text: my sermon to mine own.
"That, he may raise, therefore, the Lord throws down."

If these fall under the censure of a soul, whose too much mixture with earth, makes it unfit to judge of these high raptures and illuminations; let him know that many holy and devout men have thought the soul of Prudentius to be most refined, when not many days before his death he charged it to present his God each morning and evening with a new and spiritual

spiritual song; justified by the example of king David and the good king Hezekiah, who upon the renovation of his years paid his thankful vows to Almighty God in a royal hymn, which he concludes in these words, *The Lord was ready to save, therefore I will sing my songs to the stringed instruments all the days of my life in the temple of my God.*

The latter part of his life may be said to be a continued study; for as he usually preached once a week, if not oftener, so after his sermon he never gave his eyes rest, till he had chosen out a new text, and that night cast his sermon into a form, and his text into divisions; and the next day betook himself to consult the fathers, and so commit his meditations to his memory, which was excellent. But upon Saturday he usually gave himself and his mind a rest from the weary burthen of his week's meditations, and usually spent that day in visitation of friends, or some other diversions of his thoughts; and would say, that he gave both his body and mind that refreshment, that he might be enabled to do the work of the day following, not faintly, but with courage and chearfulness.

Nor was his age only so industrious, but in the most unsettled days of his youth, his bed was not able to detain him beyond the hour of four in a morning; and it was no common business that drew him out of his chamber till past ten. All which time was employed in study; though he took great liberty after it; and if this seem strange, it may gain a belief by the visible fruits of his labours: some of which remain as testimonies of what is here written: for he left the resultance of 1400 authors, most of them abridged and analysed with his own hand; he left also sixscore of his sermons, all written with his own hand; also an exact and laborious

borious treatise concerning Self-murder, called Biathanatos; wherein all the laws violated by that act are diligently surveyed and judiciously censured; a treatise written in his younger days, which alone might declare him then not only perfect in the civil and canon law, but in many other such studies and arguments, as enter not into the consideration of many that labour to be thought great clerks, and pretend to know all things.

Nor were these only found in his study; but all businesses that past of any public consequence, either in this, or any of our neighbour nations, he abbreviated either in Latin, or in the language of that nation, and kept them by him for useful memorials. So he did the copies of divers letters and cases of conscience that had concerned his friends, with his observations and solutions of them; and, divers other businesses of importance; all particularly and methodically digested by himself.

He did prepare to leave the world before life left him; making his will when no faculty of his soul was damped or made defective by pain or sickness, or he surprized by a sudden apprehension of death: but it was made with mature deliberation, expressing himself an impartial father by making his children's portions equal; and a lover of his friends, whom he remembered with legacies fitly and discreetly chosen and bequeathed. I cannot forbear a nomination of some of them; for, methinks they be persons that seem to challenge a recordation in this place; as namely, to his brother-in-law sir Thomas Grimes, he gave that striking clock which he had long worn in his pocket—— to his dear friend and executor Dr. King (late bishop of Chichester) that model of gold of the synod of Dort, with which the states presented him at his last being

ing at the Hague—— and the two pictures of Padre Paulo and Fulgentio, men of his acquaintance when he travelled Italy, and of great note in that nation for their remarkable learning.——To his ancient friend Dr. Brook (that married him) master of Trinity College in Cambridge, he gave the picture of the blessed Virgin and Joseph.——To Dr. Winniff (who succeeded him in the deanery) he gave a picture called the Sceleton.——To the succeeding dean, who was not then known, he gave many necessaries of worth, and useful for his house; and also several pictures and ornaments for the chapel, with a desire that they might be registered, and remain as a legacy to his successors.——To the earls of Dorset and Carlisle, he gave several pictures; and so he did to many other friends; legacies, given rather to express his affection, than to make any addition to their estates: but unto the poor he was full of charity, and unto many others, who by his constant and long continued bounty might entitle themselves to be his alms-people: for all these, he made provision; and so largely, as having then six children living, might to some appear more than proportionable to his estate. I forbear to mention any more, lest the reader may think I trespass upon his patience: but I will beg his favour to present him with the beginning and end of his will.

"In the name of the blessed and glorious Trinity, Amen. I John Donne, by the mercy of Christ Jesus, and by the calling of the church of England priest, being at this time in good health and perfect understanding (praised be God therefore) do hereby make my last will and testament in manner and form following:

First, I give my gracious God an intire sacrifice of body and soul, with my most humble thanks for that

that assurance which his blessed spirit imprints in me now of the salvation of the one, and the resurrection of the other; and for that constant and chearful resolution which the same spirit hath established in me to live and die in the religion now professed in the Church of England. In expectation of that resurrection, I desire my body may be buried, in the most private manner that may be, in that place of St. Paul's Church London, that the now residentiaries have at my request designed for that purpose, &c.——And this my last will and testament, made in the fear of God (whose mercy I humbly beg, and constantly rely upon in Jesus Christ) and in perfect love and charity with all the world (whose pardon I ask, from the lowest of my servants, to the highest of my superiors) written all with my own hand, and my name subscribed to every page, of which there are five in number.

Sealed Decemb. 13. 1630."

Nor was this blessed sacrifice of charity expressed only at his death, but in his life also, by a chearful and frequent visitation of any friend whose mind was dejected, or his fortune necessitous: he was inquisitive after the wants of prisoners, and redeemed many from thence that lay for their fees or small debts; he was a continual giver to poor scholars, both of this and foreign nations. Besides what he gave with his own hand, he usually sent a servant, or a discreet and trusty friend, to distribute his charity to all the prisons in London at all the festival times of the year, especially at the birth and resurrection of our Saviour. He gave an hundred pounds at one time to an old friend, whom he had known live plentifully, and by a too liberal heart and carelessness, became decayed in his estate: and, when

when the receiving of it was denied, by the gentleman's saying, "He wanted not;" for the reader may note, that as there be some spirits so generous as to labour to conceal, and endure a sad poverty, rather than expose themselves to those blushes that attend the confession of it; so there be others to whom nature and grace have afforded such sweet and compassionate souls, as to pity and prevent the distresses of mankind; which I have mentioned because of Dr. Donne's reply, whose answer was, "I know you want not what will sustain nature, for a little will do that; but my desire is, that you who in the days of your plenty have cheared and raised the hearts of so many of your dejected friends, would now receive this from me, and use it as a cordial for the cheering of your own;" and upon these terms it was received. He was an happy reconciler of many differences in the families of his friends, and kindred, (which he never undertook faintly; for such undertakings have usually faint effects) and they had such a faith in his judgment and impartiality, that he never advised them to do any thing in vain. He was even to her death a most dutiful son to his mother, careful to provide for her supportation, of which she had been destitute, but that God raised him up to prevent her necessities; who having sucked in the religion of the Roman church with her mother's milk, spent her estate in foreign countries, to enjoy a liberty in it, and died in his house but three months before him.

And to the end it may appear how just a steward he was of his lord and master's revenue, I have thought fit to let the reader know, that after his entrance into his deanery, as he numbered his years, he (at the foot of a private account, to which God and his angels were only witnesses with him) computed

puted first his revenue, then what was given to the poor, and other pious uses; and lastly, what rested for him and his; and, having done that, he then blest each year's poor remainder with a thankful prayer; which, for that they discover a more than common devotion, the reader shall partake some of them in his own words:

So all is that remains this year }

Deo Opt. Max. benigno
Largitori, à me, & ab iis
Quibus hæc à me reservantur,
Gloria & gratia in eternum.
Amen.

So, that this year, God hath blessed me and mine with }

Multiplicatæ sunt super
Nos misericordiæ tuæ
Domine.——————

Da Domine, ut quæ ex immensâ
Bonitate tuâ nobis elargiri
Dignatus sis, in quorumcunque
Manus devenerint, in tuam
Semper cedant gloriam.
Amen.

In fine horum sex Annorum manet——

Quid habeo quod non accepi à Domino?
Largitur etiam ut quæ largitus est
Sua iterum fiant, bono eorum usu; ut
Quemadmodum nec officiis hujus mundi,

Nec

Nec loci in quo me posuit, dignitati, nec
Servis, nec egenis, in toto hujus anni
Curriculo mihi conscius sum me defuisse;
Ita & liberi, quibus quæ supersunt,
Supersunt, grato animo ea accipiant,
Et beneficum authorem recognoscant.
Amen.

But I return from my long digression.

We left the author sick in Essex, where he was forced to spend much of that winter, by reason of his disability to remove from that place: and having never for almost twenty years omitted his personal attendance on his majesty in that month in which he was to attend and preach to him; nor, having ever been left out of the roll and number of Lent-preachers, and there being then (in January 1630.) a report brought to London, or raised there, that Dr. Donne was dead: that report, gave him occasion to write this following letter to a dear friend.

"SIR,

This advantage you and my other friends have by my frequent fevers, that I am so much the oftener at the gates of heaven; and this advantage by the solitude and close imprisonment that they reduce me to after, that I am so much the oftener at my prayers, in which I shall never leave out your happiness; and I doubt not, among his other blessings, God will add some one to you for my prayers. A man would almost be content to die (if there were no other benefit in death) to hear of so much sorrow, and so much good testimony from good men as I (God be blessed for it) did upon the report of my death: yet I perceive it

went not through all; for, one writ to me that some (and he said of my friends) conceived I was not so ill as I pretended, but withdrew myself to live at ease, discharged of preaching. It is an unfriendly, and God knows an ill-gounded interpretation; for I have always been sorrier when I could not preach, than any could be they could not hear me. It hath been my desire, and God may be pleased to grant it, that I might die in the pulpit; if not that, yet, that I might take my death in the pulpit, that is, die the sooner by occasion of those labours. Sir, I hope to see you presently after Candlemas, about which time will fall my Lent-sermon at court, except my lord chamberlain believe me to be dead, and so leave me out of the roll; but as long as I live, and am not speechless, I would not willingly decline that service. I have better leisure to write, than you to read; yet I would not willingly oppress you with too much letter. God so bless you and your son as I wish, to

Your poor friend and servant
Jan. 7. 1630. in Christ Jesus,
J. DONNE."

Before that month ended, he was appointed to preach upon his old constant day, the first Friday in Lent; he had notice of it, and had in his sickness so prepared for that employment, that as he had long thirsted for it, so, he resolved his weakness should not hinder his journey; he came therefore to London, some few days before his appointed day of preaching. At his coming thither, many of his friends (who with sorrow saw his sickness had left him but so much flesh as did only cover his bones) doubted his strength to perform that task; and, did therefore dissuade him from undertaking it, assuring

suring him however, it was like to shorten his life; but, he passionately denied their requests; saying, "he would not doubt that that God who in so many weaknesses had assisted him with an unexpected strength, would now withdraw it in his last employment; professing an holy ambition to perform that sacred work." And, when to the amazement of some beholders he appeared in the pulpit, many of them thought he presented himself not to preach mortification by a living voice; but, mortality by a decayed body and a dying face. And doubtless, many did secretly ask that question in Ezekiel (Ezek. xxxvii. 3.); *Do these bones live? or, can that soul organize that tongue, to speak so long time as the sand in that glass will move towards its centre, and measure out an hour of this dying man's unspent life?* Doubtless it cannot; and yet, after some faint pauses in his zealous prayer, his strong desires enabled his weak body to discharge his memory of his preconceived meditations, which were of dying; the text being *to God the Lord belong the issues from death.* Many that then saw his tears, and heard his faint and hollow voice, professing they thought the text prophetically chosen, and that Dr. Donne had preached his own funeral sermon.

Being full of joy that God had enabled him to perform this desired duty, he hastened to his house; out of which he never moved, till like St. Stephen, he was carried by devout men to his grave.

The next day after his sermon, his strength being much wasted, and his spirits so spent, as indisposed him to business, or to talk, a friend that had often been a witness of his free and facetious discourse, asked him, "Why are you sad?" To whom he replied with a countenance so full of cheerful gravity, as gave testimony of an inward tranquil-

lity

lity of mind, and of a soul willing to take a farewell of this world; and said,

"I am not sad; but most of the night past I have entertained myself with many thoughts of several friends that have left me here, and are gone to that place from which they shall not return; and, that within a few days I also shall go hence, and be no more seen. And, my preparation for this change is become my nightly meditation upon my bed, which my infirmities have now made restless to me. But, at this present time, I was in a serious contemplation of the providence and goodness of God to me; to me who am less than the least of his mercies; and looking back upon my life past, I now plainly see it was his hand that prevented me from all temporal employment; and, that it was his will I should never settle nor thrive till I entered into the ministry; in which, I have now lived almost twenty years (I hope to his glory) and by which, I most humbly thank him, I have been enabled to requite most of those friends which shewed me kindness when my fortune was very low, as God knows it was: and (as it hath occasioned the expression of my gratitude) I thank God most of them have stood in need of my requital. I have lived to be useful and comfortable to my good father-in-law sir George Moore, whose patience God hath been pleased to exercise with many temporal crosses; I have maintained my own mother, whom it hath pleased God after a plentiful fortune in her younger days, to bring to a great decay in her very old age. I have quieted the consciences of many that have groaned under the burthen of a wounded spirit, whose prayers I hope are available for me: I cannot plead innocency of life, especially of my youth: but, I am to be judged by a merciful God, who is not willing to see what I,

have done amiss. And, though of myself I have nothing to present to him but sins and misery; yet, I know he looks not upon me now as I am of myself, but as I am in my Saviour, and hath given me even at this present time some testimonies by his holy spirit, that I am of the number of his elect: I am therefore full of unexpressible joy, and shall die in peace."

I must here look so far back, as to tell the reader, that at his first return out of Essex to preach his last sermon, his old friend and physician, Dr. Fox, a man of great worth, came to him to consult his health; and that after a sight of him, and some queries concerning his distempers, he told him, "That by cordials, and drinking milk twenty days together, there was a probability of his restoration to health;" but he passionately denied to drink it. Nevertheless, Dr. Fox, who loved him most entirely, wearied him with solicitations; till he yielded to take it for ten days; at the end of which time, he told Dr. Fox, "he had drank it more to satisfy him, than to recover his health; and, that he would not drink it ten days longer upon the best moral assurance of having twenty years added to his life: for he loved it not; and, was so far from fearing death, which to others is the king of terrors; that he longed for the day of his dissolution."

It is observed, that a desire of glory or commendation is rooted in the very nature of man; and, that those of the severest and most mortified lives, though they may become so humble as to banish self-flattery, and such weeds as naturally grow there; yet, they have not been able to kill this desire of glory, but that, like our radical heat, it will both live and die with us; and, many think it should do so; and, we want not sacred examples to justify the

the desire of having our memory to out-live our lives: which I mention, because Dr. Donne, by the persuasion of Dr. Fox, easily yielded at this very time to have a monument made for him; but Dr. Fox undertook not to persuade him how, or what monument it should be; that was left to Dr. Donne himself.

A monument being resolved upon, Dr. Donne sent for a carver to make for him in wood the figure of an urn, giving him directions for the compass and height of it; and, to bring with it a board of the just height of his body. These being got, then, without delay a choice painter was got to be in a readiness to draw his picture, which was taken as followeth.——Several charcoal-fires being first made in his large study, he brought with him into that place his winding-sheet in his hand, and, having put off all his cloaths, had this sheet put on him, and so tied with knots at his head and feet, and his hands so placed, as dead bodies are usually fitted to be shrouded and put into their coffin, or grave. Upon this urn he thus stood with his eyes shut, and with so much of the sheet turned aside as might shew his lean, pale, and death-like face, which was purposely turned toward the east, from whence he expected the second coming of his and our Saviour Jesus. In this posture he was drawn at his just height; and when the picture was fully finished, he caused it to be set by his bed-side, where it continued, and became his hourly object[6] till his death: and, was then given

[6] *His hourly object.*] It is related of the pious and truly primitive bishop Ken, that when his physician had told him, in reply to an inquiry of his own, how long he might probably live, *about two or three days*, his only observation was, his usual expression, *God's will be done.* "It can be no

given to his dearest friend and executor Doctor Henry King, then chief residentiary of St. Paul's, who caused him to be thus carved in one entire piece of white marble, as it now stands in that church; and by Doctor Donne's own appointment, these words were to be affixed to it as his epitaph:

JOHANNES DONNE
SAC. THEOL. PROFESS.
POST VARIA STUDIA QUIBUS AB ANNIS TENERRIMIS FIDELITER, NEC INFELICITER INCUBUIT;
INSTINCTU ET IMPULSU SPIRITUS SANCTI,
MONITU ET HORTATU
REGIS JACOBI, ORDINES SACROS AMPLEXUS
ANNO SUI JESU, 1614. ET SUÆ ÆTATIS 42.
DECANATU HUJUS ECCLESIÆ INDUTUS 27.
NOVEMBRIS 1621.
EXUTUS MORTE ULTIMO DIE MARTII 1631.
HIC LICET IN OCCIDUO CINERE ASPICIT EUM
CUJUS NOMEN EST ORIENS.

And now, having brought him through the many labyrinths and perplexities of a various life,

wonder" (says his son-in-law and biographer) " he should so little regard the terrors of death, who had for many years *travelled with his shroud in his portmanteau;* as what, he often said, *might be as soon wanted as any other of his habiliments;* and which was by himself put on, as soon as he came to Long Leate, giving notice of it the day before his death, by way of prevention, that his body might not be stripped. *Short Account of the Life of Thomas Ken, D. D. sometime Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, by William Hawkin's of the Middle Temple Esq.* p. 44. 8vo. 1713.

even

even to the gates of death and the grave; my desire is, he may rest till I have told my reader, that I have seen many pictures of him, in several habits, and, at several ages, and, in several postures: and, I now mention this, because, I have seen one picture of him, drawn by a curious hand at his age of eighteen; with his sword and what other adornments might then suit with the present fashions of youth, and the giddy gaieties of that age: and his motto then was,

"How much shall I be chang'd,
Before I am chang'd."

And, if that young, and his now dying picture, were at this time set together, every beholder might say, "Lord! how much is Dr. Donne already changed, before he is changed!" And, the view of them might give my reader occasion, to ask himself with some amazement, "Lord! How much may I also, that am now in health be changed, before I am changed! before this vile, this changeable body shall put off mortality!" and, therefore to prepare for it.——But this is not writ so much for my readers memento, as to tell him, that Dr. Donne would often in his private discourses, and often publicly in his sermons, mention the many changes both of his body and mind; especially of his mind from a vertiginous giddiness; and would as often say, "His great and most blessed change was from a temporal, to a spiritual employment?" in which he was so happy, that he accounted the former part of his life to be lost; and the beginning of it to be, from his first entering into sacred orders, and serving his most merciful God at his altar.

Upon

Upon Monday after the drawing of this picture, he took his last leave of his beloved study; and, being sensible of his hourly decay, retired himself to his bed-chamber: and that week sent at several times for many of his most considerable friends, with whom he took a solemn and deliberate farewel; commending to their considerations some sentences useful for the regulation of their lives, and then dismist them, as good Jacob did his sons, with a spiritual benediction. The Sunday following he appointed his servants, that if there were any business yet undone that concerned him or themselves, it should be prepared against Saturday next; for, after that day he would not mix his thoughts with any thing that concerned this world; nor ever did: but, as Job, so he waited for the appointed day of his dissolution.

And now he was so happy as to have nothing to do but to die; to do which, he stood in need of no longer time, for he had studied it long; and, to so happy a perfection, that in a former sickness he called God to witness * "He was that minute ready to deliver his soul into his hands, if that minute God would determine his dissolution." In that sickness he begged of God the constancy to be preserved in that estate for ever; and his patient expectation to have his immortal soul disrobed from her garment of mortality, makes me confident he now had a modest assurance that his prayers were then heard, and his petition granted. He lay fifteen days earnestly expecting his hourly change; and, in the last hour of his last day, as his body melted away and vapoured into spirit, his soul having, I verily believe, some revelation of the beatifical vision, he said, "I were miserable

* In his book of Devotions written then.

if

if I might not die;" and after those words, closed many periods of his faint breath, by saying often, "Thy Kingdom come, Thy Will be done." His speech, which had long been his ready and faithful servant, left him not till the last minute of his life, and then forsook him not to serve another master (for who speaks like him) but died before him, for that it was then become useless to him that now conversed with God on earth, as angels are said to do in heaven, only by thoughts and looks. Being speechless, and, seeing heaven by that illumination by which he saw it; he did as St. Stephen, *look stedfastly into it, till he saw the son of man, standing at the right hand of God his father;* and, being satisfied with this blessed sight, as his soul ascended, and his last breath departed from him, he closed his own eyes; and then, disposed his hands and body into such a posture as required not the least alteration by those that came to shroud him.

Thus variable, thus virtuous was the life; thus excellent, thus exemplary was the death of this memorable men.

He was buried in that place of St. Paul's church which he had appointed for that use some years before his death; and, by which he passed daily to pay his public devotions to Almighty God (who was then served twice a day by a public form of prayer and praises in that place) but, he was not buried privately, though he desired it; for, beside an unnumbered number of others, many persons of nobility, and of eminency for learning, who did love and honour him in his life, did shew it at his death, by a voluntary and sad attendance of his body to the grave, where nothing was so remarkable as a public sorrow.

To which place of his burial some mournful friend repaired, and, as Alexander the Great did to

the grave of the famous Achilles, so they strewed his with an abundance of curious and costly flowers, which course they (who were never yet known) continued morning and evening for many days; not ceasing, till the stones that were taken up in that church to give his body admission into the cold earth (now his bed of rest) were again by the masons art so levelled and firmed, as they had been formerly; and his place of burial undistinguishable to common view.

The next day after his burial, some unknown friend, some one, of the many lovers and admirers of his virtue and learning, writ this epitaph with a coal on the wall, over his grave.

Reader! I am to let thee know,
Donne's body only, lies below:
For, could the grave his soul comprise,
Earth would be richer than the skies.

Nor was this all the honour done to his reverend ashes; for, as there be some persons that will not receive a reward for that for which God accounts himself a debtor; persons that dare trust God with their charity, and without a witness; so there was by some grateful and unknown friend, that thought Dr. Donne's memory ought to be perpetuated, an hundred marks sent to his two faithful friends and executors, Dr. King and Dr. Montfort, toward making of his monument. It was not for many years known by whom; but, after the death of Dr. Fox, it was known that it was he that sent it; and he lived to see as lively a representation of his dead friend, as marble can express; a statue indeed so like Dr. Donne, that (as his friend sir Henry Wotton hath expressed himself) "It seems to breath

breath faintly; and posterity shall look upon it as a kind of artificial miracle."

He was of stature moderately tall, of a strait and equally-proportioned body, to which all his words and actions gave an inexpressible addition of comeliness.

The melancholy and pleasant humour were in him so contempered, that each gave advantage to the other, and made his company one of the delights of mankind.

His fancy was inimitably high, equalled only by his great wit; both being made useful by a commanding judgment.

His aspect was chearful, and such, as gave a silent testimony of a clear knowing soul, and of a conscience at peace with itself.

His melting eyes shewed that he had a soft heart, full of noble compassion; of too brave a soul to offer injuries, and too much a christian not to pardon them in others.

He did much contemplate (especially after he entered into his sacred calling) the mercies of Almighty God, the immortality of the Soul, and the joys of heaven; and would often say, in a kind of sacred extasy.—Blessed be God that he is God, only and divinely like himself.

He was by nature highly passionate, but more apt to reluct at the excesses of it. A great lover of the offices of humanity, and of so merciful a spirit, that he never beheld the miseries of mankind without pity and relief.

He was earnest and unwearied in the search of knowledge; with which, his vigorous soul is now satisfied, and employed in a continual praise of that God that first breathed it into his active body; that body, which once was the temple of the Holy Ghost,

Ghost, and is now become a small quantity of christian dust:

But I shall see it reanimated.

J. W.

Feb. 15. 1639.

An EPITAPH *written by* DR. CORBET, *late Bishop of Oxford, on his friend* DR. DONNE.

HE that wou'd write an epitaph for thee,
And write it well, must first begin to be
Such as thou wert; for, none can truly know
Thy life and worth, but he that hath liv'd so.
He must have wit to spare, and to hurl down,
Enough to keep the gallants of the town.
He must have learning plenty, both the laws,
Civil and common, to judge any cause.
Divinity great store above the rest,
Not of the last edition, but the best.
He must have language, travel, all the arts,
Judgment to use, or else he wants thy parts.
He must have friends the highest, able to do,
Such as Mecœnas, and Augustus too.
He must have such a sickness, such a death,
Or else his vain descriptions come beneath.
He that would write an epitaph for thee,
Should first be dead; let it alone for me.

To the Memory of my ever desired DR. DONNE. *An* ELEGY *by* H. KING, *late Bishop of Chichester.*

TO have liv'd eminent in a degree
Beyond our loftiest thoughts, that is like thee;
Or t'have had too much merit is not safe,
For such excesses find not epitaph.

At

At common graves we have poetic eyes,
Can melt themselves in easy elegies;
Each quill can drop his tributary verse,
And pin it like the hatchments to the hearse:
But at thine, poem or inscription
(Rich soul of wit and language) we have none.
Indeed a silence does that tomb befit,
Where is no herald left to blazon it.
Widow'd invention justly doth forbear
To come abroad, knowing thou art not there:
Late her great patron, whose prerogative
Maintain'd and cloth'd her so, as none alive
Must now presume to keep her at thy rate,
Though he the Indies for her dower estate.
Or else that awful fire which once did burn
In thy clear brain, now fallen into thy urn,
Lives there to fright rude empirics from thence,
Which might profane thee by their ignorance.
Whoever writes of thee, and in a stile
Unworthy such a theme, does but revile
Thy precious dust, and wakes a learned spirit,
Which may revenge his rapes upon thy merit:
For all a low-pitch't fancy can devise,
Will prove at best but hallowed injuries.
Thou like the dying swan didst lately sing
Thy mournful dirge in audience of the king;
When pale looks and faint accents of thy breath
Presented so to life that piece of death,
That it was fear'd and prophesy'd by all
Thou thither cam'st to preach thy funeral.
Oh hadst thou in an elegiac knell
Rung out unto the world thine own farewel,
And in thy high victorious numbers beat
The solemn measures of thy griev'd retreat,
Thou might'st the poets service now have mist,
As well as then thou didst prevent the priest:

And

And never to the world beholden be,
So much as for an epitaph for thee.
I do not like the office; nor is't fit
Thou, who didst lend our age such sums of wit,
Should'st now re-borrow from her bankrupt mine,
That ore to bury thee which first was thine;
Rather still leave us in thy debt, and know,
Exalted soul, more glory 'tis to owe
Thy memory what we can never pay,
Than with embased coin those rites defray.
Commit we then thee to thyself, nor blame
Our drooping loves that thus to thine own fame
Leave thee executor, since but thine own
No pen could do thee justice, nor bays crown
Thy vast deserts; save that, we nothing can
Depute to be thy ashes guardian:
So, jewellers no art or metal trust
To form the diamond, but the diamond's dust.

H. K.

An Elegy on Dr. Donne.

OUR Donne is dead! and, we may sighing say,
We had that man where language chose to stay
And shew her utmost power. I wou'd not praise
That, and his great wit, which in our vain days
Make others proud; but, as these serv'd to unlock
That cabinet his mind, where such a stock
Of knowledge was repos'd, that I lament
Our just and general cause of discontent.

And, I rejoice I am not so severe,
But as I write a line, to weep a tear
For his decease: such sad extremities
Can make such men as I write elegies.

And

And wonder not; for when so great a loss
Falls on a nation, and they slight the cross,
God hath raised prophets to awaken them
From their dull lethargy: witness my pen,
Not us'd to upbraid the world, though now it must
Freely, and boldly, for the cause is just.

Dull age! oh, I wou'd spare thee, but thou'rt worse:
Thou art not only dull, but hast a curse
Of black ingratitude: if not? couldst thou
Part with this matchless man, and make no vow
For thee and thine sucessively to pay,
Some sad remembrance to his dying day?

Did his youth scatter poetry, wherein
Lay loves philosophy? was every sin
Pictur'd in his sharp satyrs, made so foul
That some have fear'd sins shapes, and kept their soul
Safer by reading verse! did he give days,
Past marble monuments to those whose praise
He wou'd perpetuate? did he (I fear
Envy will doubt,) these at his twentieth year?

But more matur'd; did his rich soul conceive,
And, in harmonious holy numbers weave
A crown of sacred * sonnets, fit t'adorn
A dying martyr's brow: or, to be worn
On the blest head of Mary Magdalen,
After she wip'd Christs feet; but not, till then.
Did he (fit for such penitents as she
And he to use) leave us a litany,
Which all devout men love? and, doubtless shall
As times grow better, grow more classical.

* La Corona.

Did

Did he write hymns, for piety and wit,
Equal to those great grave Prudentius writ?
Spake he all languages? knew he all laws?
The grounds and use of physic; but, because
'Twas mercenary, wav'd it: went to see
That happy place of Christ's Nativity.
Did he return and preach him? preach him so
As since St. Paul none ever did! they know:
Those happy souls that hear'd him know this truth.
Did he confirm thy ag'd? convert thy youth?
Did he these wonders! and is his dear loss
Mourn'd by so few? few for so great a cross.

But sure, the silent are ambitious all
To be close mourners at his funeral.
If not? in common pity, they forbear
By repetitions to renew our care:
Or knowing grief conceiv'd, and hid, consumes
Mans life insensibly (as poison fumes
Corrupt the brain) take silence for the way
T'inlarge the soul from these walls, mud, and clay,
Materials of this body: to remain
With him in heaven, where no promiscuous pain
Lessens those joys we have: for, with him all
Are satisfied, with joys essential.

Dwell on these joys my thoughts: oh, do not call
Grief back, by thinking on his funeral!
Forget he lov'd me: waste not my swift years
Which haste to David's seventy, fill'd with fears
And sorrows for his death: forget his parts,
They find a living grave in good mens hearts.
And, for my first is daily paid for sin:
Forget to pay my second sigh for him.
Forget his powerful preaching: and, forget

I am

I am his convert. Oh my frailty! let
My flesh be no more heard: it will obtrude
This lethargy: so shou'd my gratitude,
My vows of gratitude shou'd so be broke;
Which, can no more be, than his virtues spoke
By any but himself: for which cause, I
Write no encomiums, but this elegy.
Which, as a free-will offering, I here give
Fame and the world: and, parting with it, grieve,
I want abilities, fit to set forth,
A monument; as matchless as his worth.

April 7. 1631.

Iz. Wa.

GEORGE HERBERT.

The world o'erlooks him in her busy search
Of objects more illustrious in her view;
And occupied as earnestly as she,
Though more sublimely, he o'erlooks the world.
She scorns his pleasures, for she knows them not:
He seeks not her's, for he has found them vain.
Not slothful he, though seeming unemployed,
And censured oft as useless. Perhaps the self-approving haughty world
Receives advantage from his noiseless hours
Of which she little dreams. Perhaps she owes
Her sunshine and her rain, her blooming spring
And plenteous harvests to the prayer he makes,
Thinking for her who thinks not for herself.

COWPER.

To his very Worthy and much Honoured Friend

Mr. IZAAK WALTON,

UPON HIS EXCELLENT LIFE OF

Mr. GEORGE HERBERT.

I.

Heaven's youngest son, it's Benjamin,
Divinity's next brother, sacred Poesy,
No longer shall a virgin reckoned be,
(What ere with others 'tis) by me,
A female muse, as were the nine;
But (full of vigor masculine)
An essence male, with angels his companions shine.
With angels first the heavenly youth was bred;
And, when a child, instructed them to sing,
The praises of th' immortal king,
Who Lucifer in triumph led:
For, as in chains the monster sank to hell,
And tumbling headlong down the precipice fell,
By him first taught, How art thou fallen thou morning star? they said.
Too fondly then, we have fancy'd him a maid;
We, the vain brethren of the rhyming trade;
A female angel less would * Urbin's skill upbraid.

II.

Thus 'twas in heaven: this, Poesy's sex and age;
And, when he thence t'our lower world came down,
He chose a form more like his own,

* Raphael Urbin, the famous painter.

And Jesse's youngest son inspir'd with holy rage,
The sprightly shepherd felt unusual fire;
And up he took his tuneful lyre;
He took it up, and struck't, and his own soft touches did admire.
Thou, Poesy, on him didst bestow
Thy choicest gift, a honour shew'd before to none;
And, to prepare his way to th' Hebrew throne,
Gav'st him thy empire, and dominion;
The happy land of verse, where flow
Rivers of milk, and woods of laurel grow;
Wherewith, thou didst adorn his brow,
And mad'st his first, more flourishing, and triumphant crown.
Assist me thy great prophets praise to sing,
David, the poet's, and bless'd Israel's king;
And, with the dancing echo, let the mountains ring!
Then, on the wings of some auspicious wind,
Let his great name from earth be rais'd on high,
And in the starry volume of the sky,
A lasting record find:
Be with his mighty Psaltery join'd;
Which, taken long since up into the air,
And call'd the *Harp*, makes a bright constellation there.

III.

Worthy it was to be translated hence,
And, there, in view of all, exalted hang:
To which so oft the princely prophet sang,
And mystick Oracles did dispence.
Though, had it still remained below,
More wonders of it we had seen,
How great the mighty Herbert's skill had been;
Herbert, who could so much without it do;

Herbert,

Herbert, who did its chords distinctly know;
More perfectly, than any child of verse below.
O! had we known him half so well;
But then, my friend, there had been left for you
Nothing so fair, and worthy praise to do;
Who, so exactly all his story tell,
That, though he did not want his bays,
Nor all the monuments virtue can raise,
Your hand he did, to eternize his praise.
Herbert, and Donne, again are join'd,
Now here below, as they're above;
These friends, are in their old embraces twin'd;
And, since by you the enterview's design'd,
Too weak, to part them, death does prove;
For, in this book they meet again: as, in one heaven they love.

SAM. WOODFORDE, D. D.

Bensted,
Apr. 3.

In

In Vitam GEORGII HERBERTI *ab* ISAACO WALTONO *Scriptam.*

O Quàm erubesco cum tuam vitam lego,
Herberte sancte, quamque me pudet meæ!
Ego talpa cæcus hic humi fodiens miser,
Aquila volatu tu petens nubes tuo,
Ego choicum vas terreas fæces olens,
Tu (sola namque Urania tibi ex musis placet)
Nil tale spiras; sed sapis cœlum & Deum,
Omnique vitæ, libri & omni lineâ;
Templúmque tecum ubique circumfers tuum:
Domi-porta cœli, cui domus propria, optima:
Ubi Rex, ibi Roma, imperii sedes; ubi
Tu sancte vates, templum ibi, & cœlum, & Deus.
Tu quale nobis intuendum clericis
Speculum sacerdotale, tu qualem pii
Pastoris ideam & libro & vitâ tuâ,
Tu quale sanctitatis elementis bonæ,
Morumque nobis tradis exemplum ac typum!
Typum, magistro* nempe proximum tuo,
Exemplar illud grande qui solus fuit.
Canonizet ergò quos velit dominus papa;
Sibique sanctos, quos facit, servet suos
Colátque; sancte Herberte, tu sanctus meus;
Oraque pro me, dicerem si fas, tibi.
Sed hos honores pâr nec est sanctis dari;
Velis nec ipse; recolo te, sed non colo.
Talis legenda est vita sancti, concio
Ad promovendum quàm potens & efficax!
Per talia exempla est breve ad cœlos iter.
Waltone, macte, perge vitas scribere,
Et penicillo, quo vales, insigni adhuc

* Sic Christum solens vocavit quoties ejus mentionem fecit.

Sanctorum

Sanctorum imagines coloribus suis
Plures representare; quod tu dum facis
Vitamque & illis & tibi das posthumam,
Lectoris æternæque vitæ consulis.
Urge ergò pensum; at interim scias velim,
Plutarchus alter sis licèt biographus,
Herberto, amice, vix parallelum dabis.
Liceat libro addere hanc coronidem tuo;
Vir, an poeta, orator an melior fuit,
Meliornè amicus, sponsus, an pastor gregis,
Herbertus, incertum; & quis hoc facilè sciat,
Melior ubi ille, qui fuit ubique optimus.

JACOB. DUPORT. S. T. P.
Decanus Petr.

THE

INTRODUCTION.

IN a late retreat from the business of this world, and those many little cares with which I have too often cumbered myself, I fell into a contemplation of some of those historical passages that are recorded in sacred story; and, more particularly, of what had past betwixt our blessed Saviour, and that wonder of women, and sinners, and mourners, saint Mary Magdalen. I call her saint, because I did not then, nor do now consider her, as when she was possest with seven devils; not as when her wanton eyes, and dishevelled hair, were designed and managed, to charm and insnare amorous beholders: but, I did then, and do now consider her, as after she had exprest a visible and sacred sorrow for her sensualities; as, after those eyes had wept such a flood of penitential tears as did wash, and that hair had wiped, and she most passionately kist the feet of her's and our blessed Jesus. And, I do now consider, that because she loved much, not only much was forgiven her; but that, beside that blessed blessing of having her sins pardoned, and the joy of knowing her happy condition, she also had from him a testimony, that her alabaster box of precious ointment poured on his head and feet and, that spikenard, and those spices that were by her dedicated to embalm and preserve his sacred body from putrefaction, should so far preserve her own memory, that these demonstrations of her sanctified love, and of her officious, and generous gratitude, should be recorded and mentioned wheresoever his gospel

gospel should be read: intending thereby, that as his, so her name should also live to succeeding generations, even till time itself shall be no more.

Upon occasion of which fair example, I did lately look back, and not without some content (at least to myself) that I have endeavoured to deserve the love, and preserve the memory of my two deceased friends, Dr. Donne, and Sir Henry Wotton, by declaring the several employments and various accidents of their lives: and, though Mr. George Herbert (whose life I now intend to write) were to me a stranger as to his person, for I have only seen him; yet, since he was, and was worthy to be their friend, and very many of his have been mine, I judge it may not be unacceptable to those that knew any of them in their lives, or do now know them by mine, or their own writings, to see this conjunction of them after their deaths; without which, many things that concerned them, and some things that concerned the age in which they lived, would be less perfect, and lost to posterity.

For these reasons I have undertaken it, and if I have prevented any abler person, I beg pardon of him, and my reader.

GEORGE HERBERT.

GEORGE HERBERT was born the third day of April, in the year of our redemption 1593. The place of his birth was near to the town of Montgomery, and in that castle that did then bear the name of that town and county. That castle was then a place of state and strength, and had been successively happy in the family of the Herberts, who had long possest it; and, with it, a plentiful estate, and hearts as liberal to their poor neighbours. A family, that hath been blest with men of remarkable wisdom, and a willingness to serve their country, and indeed, to do good to all mankind; for which they are eminent. But alas! this family did in the late rebellion suffer extremely in their estates; and the heirs of that castle, saw it laid level with that earth that was too good to bury those wretches that were the cause of it.

The father of our George, was Richard Herbert, the son of Edward Herbert, knight, the son of Richard Herbert, knight, the son of the famous sir Richard Herbert, of Colebrook, in the county of Monmouth, baronet, who was the youngest brother of that memorable William Herbert, earl of Pembroke, that lived in the reign of our king Edward the fourth.

His mother was Magdalen Newport, the youngest daughter of sir Richard, and sister to sir Francis Newport, of High Arkall, in the county of Salop, knight, and grandfather of Francis lord Newport, now

now comptroller of his majesty's houshold. A family, that for their loyalty, have suffered much in their estates, and seen the ruin of that excellent structure, where their ancestors have long lived, and been memorable for their hospitality.

This mother of George Herbert (of whose person and wisdom, and virtue, I intend to give a true account in a seasonable place) was the happy mother of seven sons, and three daughters, which she would often say, was Job's number, and Job's distribution; and, as often bless God, that they were neither defective in their shapes, or in their reason; and very often reprove them that did not praise God for so great a blessing. I shall give the reader a short account of their names, and not say much of their fortunes.

Edward, the eldest, was first made knight of the bath at that glorious time of our late prince Henry's being installed knight of the garter; and after many years useful travel, and the attainment of many languages, he was by king James sent ambassador resident to the then French king, Lewis the thirteenth. There he continued about two years; but, he could not subject himself to a compliance with the humours of the duke de Luines, who was then the great and powerful favourite at court; so that upon a complaint to our king, he was called back into England in some displeasure; but at his return he gave such an honourable account of his employment, and so justified his comportment to the duke, and all the court, that he was suddenly sent back upon the same embassy, from which he returned in the beginning of the reign of our good king Charles the first, who made him first baron of Castle-Island; and not long after of Cherbery, in the county of Salop. He was a man of great learning and reason, as appears by his printed book *de veritate;* and by his

his History of the Reign of King Henry the Eighth, and by several other tracts.

The second and third brothers were Richard and William, who ventured their lives to purchase honour in the wars of the Low Countries, and died officers in that employment. Charles was the fourth, and died fellow of New-college in Oxford. Henry was the sixth, who became a menial servant to the crown in the days of king James, and hath continued to be so for fifty years: during all which time he hath been master of the revels; a place that requires a diligent wisdom, with which God hath blest him. The seventh son was Thomas, who being made captain of a ship in that fleet with which sir Robert Mansel was sent against Algiers, did there shew a fortunate and true English valour. Of the three sisters, I need not say more, than that they were all married to persons of worth, and plentiful fortunes; and lived to be examples of virtue, and to do good in their generations.

I now come to give my intended account of George, who was the fifth of those seven brothers.

George Herbert spent much of his childhood in a sweet content under the eye and care of his prudent mother, and the tuition of a chaplain or tutor to him, and two of his brothers, in her own family (for she was then a widow) where he continued, till about the age of twelve years; and being at that time well instructed in the rules of grammar, he was not long after commended to the care of Dr. Neale, who was then dean of Westminster; and by him to the care of Mr. Ireland, who was then chief master of that school; where the beauties of his pretty behaviour and wit shined and became so eminent and lovely in this his innocent age, that he seemed to be marked out for piety, and to become the

the care of heaven, and of a particular good angel to guard and guide him. And thus he continued in that school, till he came to be perfect in the learned languages, and especially in the Greek tongue, in which he after proved an excellent critic.

About the age of fifteen (he being then a king's scholar,) he was elected out of that school for Trinity College in Cambridge, to which place he was transplanted about the year 1608; and his prudent mother well knowing, that he might easily lose, or lessen that virtue and innocence which her advice and example had planted in his mind, did therefore procure the generous and liberal Dr. Nevil, who was then dean of Canterbury, and master of that college, to take him into his particular care, and provide him a tutor; which he did most gladly undertake, for he knew the excellencies of his mother, and how to value such a friendship.

This was the method of his education, till he was settled in Cambridge; where we will leave him in his study, till I have paid my promised account of his excellent mother; and I will endeavour to make it short.

I have told her birth, her marriage, and the number of her children, and have given some short account of them. I shall next tell the reader, that her husband died when our George was about the age of four years. I am next to tell that she continued twelve years a widow: that she then married happily to a noble gentleman, the brother and heir of the lord Danvers earl of Danby, who did highly value both her person and the most excellent endowments of her mind.

In this time of her widowhood, she being desirous to give Edward her eldest son, such advantages of learning, and other education as might suit his birth

birth and fortune, and thereby make him the more fit for the service of his country: did at his being of a fit age, remove from Montgomery castle with him, and some of her younger sons to Oxford; and, having entered Edward into Queen's College, and provided him a fit tutor, she commended him to his care; yet, she continued there with him, and still kept him in a moderate awe of herself; and so much under her own eye, as to see and converse with him daily; but she managed this power over him without any such rigid sourness, as might make her company a torment to her child; but, with such a sweetness and compliance with the recreations and pleasures of youth, as did incline him willingly to spend much of his time in the company of his dear and careful mother; which was to her great content; for, she would often say, "That as our bodies take a nourishment suitable to the meat on which we feed; so, our souls do as insensibly take in vice by the example or conversation with wicked company:" and, would therefore, as often say, "That ignorance of vice was the best preservation of virtue: and, that the very knowledge of wickedness was as tinder to inflame and kindle sin, and to keep it burning." For these reasons she endeared him to her own company: and continued with him in Oxford four years: in which time, her great and harmless wit, her cheerful gravity, and her obliging behaviour, gained her an acquaintance and friendship with most of any eminent worth and learning, that were at that time in or near that University; and particulary, with Mr. John Donne, who then came accidentally to that place, in this time of her being there: it was that John Donne who was after doctor Donne, and dean of Saint Pauls London: and he at his leaving Oxford, writ and left there in verse a character

character of the beauties of her body and mind. Of the first, he says,

No spring nor summer-beauty, has such grace
As I have seen in an autumnal face.

Of the latter he says,

In all her words to every hearer fit
You may at revels, or at council sit.

The rest of her character may be read in his printed poems, in that elegy which bears the name of the Autumnal Beauty. For both he and she were then past the meridian of man's life.

This amity, begun at this time, and place, was not an amity that polluted their souls; but, an amity made up of a chain of suitable inclinations and virtues; an amity, like that of St. Chrysostom's to his dear and virtuous Olimpias; whom, in his letters he calls his saint: or, an amity indeed more like that of St. Hierom to his Paula; whose affection to her was such, that he turned poet in his old age, and then made her epitaph; wishing all his body were turned into tongues, that he might declare her just praises to posterity.——And this amity betwixt her and Mr. Donne, was begun in a happy time for him, he being then near to the fortieth year of his age (which was some years before he entered into sacred orders:) a time, when his necessities needed a daily supply for the support of his wife, seven children, and a family: and in this time she proved one of his most bountiful benefactors; and he, as grateful an acknowledger of it. You may take one testimony for what I have said of these two worthy persons, from this following letter, and sonnet.

MADAM,

"MADAM,

Your favours to me are every where: I use them, and have them. I enjoy them at London, and leave them there; and yet, find them at Mitcham. Such riddles as these become things unexpressible, and, such is your goodness. I was almost sorry to find your servant here this day, because I was loth to have any witness of my not coming home last night, and indeed of my coming this morning: but, my not coming was excusable, because earnest business detained me; and my coming this day, is by the example of your St. Mary Magdalen, who rose early upon Sunday, to seek that which she loved most; and so did I. And, from her and myself, I return such thanks as are due to one to whom we owe all the good opinion, that they whom we need most, have of us.——By this messenger, and on this good day, I commit the inclosed holy hymns and sonnets (which for the matter, not the workmanship, have yet escaped the fire) to your judgment, and to your protection too, if you think them worthy of it: and I have appointed this inclosed sonnet to usher them to your happy hand.

Your unworthiest servant,
unless, your accepting him to be so
have mended him.
JO. DONNE."

Mitcham,
July 11,
1607.

To the Lady Magdalen Herbert; of St. Mary Magdalen.

Her of your name, whose fair inheritance
Bethina was, and jointure Magdalo;
An active faith so highly did advance,

That she once knew, more than the church did know,
The resurrection; so much good there is
Deliver'd of her, that some fathers be
Loth to believe one woman could do this;
But, think these Magdalens were two or three.
Increase their number, lady, and their fame:
To their devotion, add your innocence:
Take so much of th' example, as of the name;
The latter half; and in some recompence
That they did harbour Christ himself, a guest,
Harbour these hymns, to his dear name addrest.

J. D.

These hymns are now lost to us; but, doubtless they were such, as they two now sing in heaven.

There might be more demonstrations of the friendship, and the many sacred endearments betwixt these two excellent persons (for I have many of their letters in my hand) and much more might be said of her great prudence and piety: but, my design was not to write her's, but the life of her son; and therefore I shall only tell my reader, that about that very day twenty years that this letter was dated, and sent her, I saw and heard this Mr. John Donne (who was then dean of St. Paul's) weep, and preach her funeral sermon, in the parish-church of Chelsea near London, where she now rests in her quiet grave: and, where we must now leave her, and return to her son George, whom we left in his study in Cambridge.

And in Cambridge we may find our George Herbert's behaviour to be such, that we may conclude, he consecrated the first-fruits of his early age to virtue, and a serious study of learning. And that he did so, this following letter and sonnet which

were

were in the first year of his going to Cambridge sent his dear mother for a new-year's gift, may appear to be some testimony.

——" But I fear the heat of my late ague hath dried up those springs, by which scholars say, the Muses use to take up their habitations. However, I need not their help, to reprove the vanity of those many love-poems, that are daily writ and consecrated to Venus; nor to bewail that so few are writ, that look towards God and heaven. For my own part, my meaning (dear mother) is in these sonnets, to declare my resolution to be, that my poor ablities in poetry, shall be all, and ever consecrated to God's glory: and I beg you to receive this as one testimony.

My God, where is that ancient heat towards thee,
Wherewith whole shoals of martyrs once did burn,
Besides their other flames? Doth poetry
Wear Venus' livery? only serve her turn?
Why are not sonnets made of thee? and lays
Upon thine altar burnt? Cannot thy love
Heighten a spirit to sound out thy praise
As well as any she? Cannot thy dove
Out-strip their Cupid easily in flight?
Or, since thy ways are deep, and still the same,
Will not a verse run smooth that bears thy name!
Why doth that fire, which by thy power and might
Each breast does feel, no braver fuel choose
Than that, which one day, worms may chance refuse.
Sure Lord, there is enough in thee to dry
Oceans of ink; for, as the deluge did
Cover the earth, so doth thy majesty:
Each cloud distils thy praise, and doth forbid

Poets to turn it to another use.
Roses and lillies speak thee; and to make
A pair of checks of them, is thy abuse.
Why should I women's eyes for chrystal take?
Such poor invention burns in their low mind
Whose fire is wild, and doth not upward go
To praise, and, on thee Lord, some ink bestow.
Open the bones, and you shall nothing find
In the best face but filth; when Lord, in thee
The beauty lies, in the discovery.

G. H.

This was his resolution at the sending this letter to his dear mother; about which time, he was in the seventeenth year of his age: and, as he grew older, so he grew in learning, and more and more in favour both with God and man; insomuch, that in this morning of that short day of his life, he seemed to be marked out for virtue, and to become the care of heaven; for God still kept his soul in so holy a frame, that he may, and ought to be a pattern of virtue to all posterity, and especially, to his brethren of the clergy; of which the reader may expect a more exact account in what will follow.

I need not declare that he was a strict student, because, that he was so, there will be many testimonies in the future part of his life. I shall therefore only tell, that he was made batchelor of art in the year 1611. major fellow of the college, March 15. 1615. And, that in that year, he was also made master of arts, he being then in the 22d year of his age; during all which time, all, or the greatest diversion from his study, was the practice of music, in which he became a great master; and of which, he would say, "That it did relieve his drooping spirits, compose his distracted thoughts, and raised his weary soul so far above earth, that it gave him

an

an earnest of the joys of heaven," before he possest them. And it may be noted, that from his first entrance into the college, the generous Dr. Nevil was a cherisher of his studies, and such a lover of his person, his behaviour, and the excellent endowments of his mind, that he took him often into his own company; by which he confirmed his native gentleness. And if during this time he exprest any error, it was that he kept himself too much retired, and at too great a distance with all his inferiors; and his cloaths seemed to prove that he put too great a value on his parts and parentage.

This may be some account of his disposition, and of the employment of his time till he was master of arts, which was anno 1615, and in the year 1619 he was chosen orator for the University. His two precedent orators were sir Robert Naunton and sir Francis Nethersoll. The first was not long after made secretary of state; and sir Francis, not very long after his being orator, was made secretary to the lady Elizabeth, queen of Bohemia. In this place of orator our George Herbert continued eight years, and managed it with as becoming and grave a gaiety as any had ever before or since his time. For he had acquired great learning, and was blest with a high fancy, a civil and sharp wit, and with a natural elegance both in his behaviour, his tongue, and his pen. Of all which there might be very many particular evidences; but I will limit myself to the mention of but three.

And the first notable occasion of shewing his fitness for this employment of orator was manifested in a letter to king James, upon the occasion of his sending that University his book, called *Basilicon Doron;* and their orator was to acknowledge this great honour, and return their gratitude to his majesty

majesty for such a condescension; at the close of of which letter he writ,

Quid Vaticanam Bodleianamque objicis hospes!
Unicus est nobis bibliotheca liber.

This letter was writ in such excellent Latin, was so full of conceits, and all the expressions so suited to the genius of the king, that he inquired the orator's name, and then asked William earl of Pembroke if he knew him? whose answer was, "That he knew him very well, and that he was his kinsman; but he loved him more for his learning and virtue than for that he was of his name and family." At which answer the king smiled, and asked the earl leave "that he might love him too; for he took him to be the jewel of that University."

The next occasion he had and took to shew his great abilities was, with them, to shew also his great affection to that church in which he received his baptism, and of which he profest himself a member; and the occasion was this: There was one Andrew Melvin, a minister of the Scotch church, and rector of St. Andrew's, who, by a long and constant converse with a discontented part of that clergy which opposed episcopacy, became at last to be a chief leader of that faction; and had proudly appeared to be so to king James, when he was but king of that nation; who the second year after his coronation in England convened a part of the bishops and other learned divines of his church to attend him at Hampton-Court, in order to a friendly conference with some dissenting brethren, both of this and the church of Scotland; and he being a man of learning, and inclined to satyrical poetry, had scattered many malicious bitter verses against our liturgy, our ceremonies, and our church government;

vernment; which were by some of that party so magnified for the wit, that they were therefore brought into Westminster school, where Mr. George Herbert then, and often after, made such answers to them, and such reflexion on him and his Kirk, as might unbeguile any man that was not too deeply pre-engaged in such a quarrel.——But to return to Mr. Melvin at Hampton-Court conference: he there appeared to be a man of an unruly wit, of a strange confidence, of so furious a zeal, and of so ungoverned passions, that his insolence to the king and others at this conference lost him both his rectorship of St. Andrew's and his liberty too; for his former verses, and his present reproaches there used against the church and state, caused him to be committed prisoner to the Tower of London, where he remained very angry for three years. At which time of his commitment he found the lady Arabella [1] an innocent prisoner there; and he pleased himself much in sending, the next day after his commitment, these two verses to the good lady, which I will under-write, because they may give the reader a taste of his others, which were like these.

Causa tibi mecum est communis, carceris, Ara-
Bella; tibi causa est, Araque sacra mihi.

I shall not trouble my reader with an account of his enlargement from that prison, or his death; but tell him, Mr. Herbert's verses were thought so worthy to be preserved, that Dr. Duport, the learned dean of Peterborough, hath lately collected, and

[1] *The Lady Arabella.*] Lady Arabella Stuart, for whose melancholy story see Rapin's Hist of England, in the reign of James I.

cause [1]

caused many of them to be printed, as an honourable memorial of his friend Mr. George Herbert and the cause he undertook.

And in order to my third and last observation of his great abilities it will be needful to declare, that about this time king James came very often to hunt at New-Market and Royston; and was almost as often invited to Cambridge, where his entertainment was comedies suited to his pleasant humour, and where Mr. George Herbert was to welcome him with gratulations, and the applauses of an orator; which he always performed so well that he still grew more into the king's favour, insomuch that he had a particular appointment to attend his majesty at Royston, where, after a discourse with him, his majesty declared to his kinsman, the earl of Pembroke, "That he found the orator's learning and wisdom much above his age or wit." The year following, the king appointed to end his progress at Cambridge, and to stay there certain days; at which time he was attended by the great secretary of nature and all learning, sir Francis Bacon (lord Verulam) and by the ever memorable and learned Dr. Andrews, bishop of Winchester, both of which did at that time begin a desired friendship with our orator. Upon whom the first put such a value on his judgment that he usually desired his approbation before he would expose any of his books to be printed; and thought him so worthy of his friendship, that having translated many of the prophet David's Psalms into English verse, he made George Herbert his patron, by a public dedication of them to him, as the best judge of divine poetry. And for the learned bishop, it is observable that at that time there fell to be a modest debate betwixt them two about predestination and sanctity of life; of both which the orator did not long after send the bishop

bishop some safe and useful aphorisms, in a long letter written in Greek; which letter was so remarkable for the language and reason of it, that after the reading it, the bishop put it into his bosom, and did often shew it to many scholars, both of this and foreign nations; but did always return it back to the place where he first lodged it, and continued it so near his heart till the last day of his life.

To these I might add the long and entire friendship betwixt him and sir Henry Wotton, and doctor Donne, but I have promised to contract myself, and shall therefore only add one testimony to what is also mentioned in the Life of Doctor Donne; namely, that a little before his death he caused many seals to be made, and in them to be engraven the figure of Christ crucified on an anchor (the emblem of hope,) and of which doctor Donne would often say, *Crux mihi anchora.*——These seals he gave or sent to most of those friends on which he put a value; and at Mr. Herbert's death these verses were found wrapt up with that seal which was by the doctor given to him.

When my dear friend could write no more,
He gave this seal, and so gave o'er.

When winds and waves rise highest, I am sure,
This anchor keeps my faith, that me secure.

At this time of being orator he had learnt to understand the Italian, Spanish, and French tongues very perfectly; hoping that as his predecessors, so he might in time attain the place of a secretary of state, he being at that time very high in the king's favour, and not meanly valued and loved by the most eminent and most powerful of the court nobility.

bility. This, and the love of a court conversation, mixt with a laudable ambition to be something more than he then was, drew him often from Cambridge to attend the king wheresoever the court was, who then gave him a sinecure, which fell into his majesty's disposal, I think, by the death of the bishop of St. Asaph. It was the same that queen Elizabeth had formerly given to her favourite sir Philip Sidney, and valued to be worth an hundred and twenty pounds per annum. With this, and his annuity, and the advantage of his college, and of his oratorship, he enjoyed his genteel humour for cloaths and court-like company, and seldom looked towards Cambridge, unless the king were there, but then he never failed; and at other times left the manage of his orator's place to his learned friend Mr. Herbert Thorndike, who is now prebend of Westminster.

I may not omit to tell, that he had often designed to leave the University, and decline all study, which he thought did impair his health; for he had a body apt to a consumption, and to fevers, and to other infirmities, which he judged were increased by his studies; for he would often say, "He had too thoughtful a wit: a wit, like a penknife in too narrow a sheath, too sharp for his body." But his mother would by no means allow him to leave the University or to travel; and though he inclined very much to both, yet he would by no means satisfy his own desires at so dear a rate as to prove an undutiful son to so affectionate a mother, but did always submit to her wisdom. And what I have now said may partly appear in a copy of verses in his printed Poems; it is one of those that bears the title of Affliction: and it appears to be a pious reflection on God's providence, and some passages of his life, in which he says,

Whereas

Whereas my birth and spirit rather took
The way that takes the town:
Thou didst betray me to a ling'ring book,
And wrap me in a gown:
I was entangled in a world of strife
Before I had the power to change my life.

Yet, for I threatned oft the siege to raise,
Not simp'ring all mine age:
Thou often didst with academic praise,
Melt and dissolve my rage:
I took the sweetened pill, till I came where
I could not go away nor persevere.

Yet, least perchance I should too happy be
In my unhappiness,
Turning my purge to food, thou throwest me
Into more sicknesses.
Thus doth thy power cross-bias me, not making
Thine own gifts good, yet me from my ways taking.

Now I am here, what thou wilt do with me
None of my books will shew:
I read, and sigh, and wish I were a tree,
For then sure I should grow
To fruit or shade; at least, some bird would trust
Her houshold with me, and I would be just.

Yet, though thou troublest me, I must be meek;
In weakness must be stout:
Well, I will change my service, and go seek
Some other master out:
Ah my dear God! though I am clean forgot,
Let me not love thee, if I love thee not.

G. H.

In

In this time of Mr. Herbert's attendance and expectation of some good occasion to remove from Cambridge to court; God, in whom there is an unseen chain of causes, did in a short time put an end to the lives of two of his most obliging and most powerful friends, Lodowick duke of Richmond, and James marquis of Hamilton; and not long after him, king James died [2] also, and with them, all Mr. Herbert's court hopes: so that he presently betook himself to a retreat from London, to a friend in Kent, where he lived very privately, and was such a lover of solitarinesss as was judged to impair his health more than his study had done. In this manner of retirement he had many conflicts with himself, whether he should return to the painted pleasures of a court life, or betake himself to a study of divinity, and enter into sacred orders? (to which his dear mother had often persuaded him.) These were such conflicts as those only can know that have endured them; for ambitious desires and the outward glory of this world are not easily laid aside; but at last God inclined him to put on a resolution to serve at his altar.

He did at his return to London acquaint a court friend with his resolution to enter into sacred orders, who persuaded him to alter it, as too mean an employment [3], and too much below his birth, and the excellent abilities and endowments of his mind. To whom he replied, "It hath been formerly judged

[2] *King James died.*] March 27, A. D. 1625.

[3] *Too mean an employment.*] "And for our Author (*The Sweet Singer of the Temple*) though he was one of the most prudent and accomplished men of his time, I have heard sober men censure him, as a man that did not manage his brave parts to his best advantage and preferment, but *lost himself in an humble way.* That was the phrase, I well remember." Life of Mr. Geo. Herbert by Barnabas Oley, prefixed to his *Country Parson.*

that

that the domestic servants of the King of Heaven should be of the noblest families on earth; and though the iniquity of the late times have made clergymen meanly valued, and the sacred name of priest contemptible, yet I will labour to make it honourable, by consecrating all my learning, and all my poor abilities, to advance the glory of that God that gave them; knowing that I can never do too much for him that hath done so much for me as to make me a Christian. And I will labour to be like my Saviour, by making humility lovely in the eyes of all men, and by following the merciful and meek example of my dear Jesus."

This was then his resolution, and the God of constancy, who intended him for a great example of virtue, continued him in it; for within that year he was made deacon, but the day when, or by whom, I cannot learn; but that he was about that time made deacon is most certain; for I find by the records of Lincoln, that he was made prebend of Layton Ecclesia, in the diocese of Lincoln, July 15, 1626, and that this prebend was given him by John, then lord bishop of that see. And now he had a fit occasion to shew that piety and bounty that was derived from his generous mother and his other memorable ancestors; and the occasion was this.

This Layton Ecclesia is a village near to Spalden, in the county of Huntingdon, and the greatest part of the parish church was fallen down, and that of it which stood was so decayed, so little, and so useless, that the parishioners could not meet to perform their duty to God in public prayer and praises; and thus it had been for almost 20 years, in which time there had been some faint endeavours for a public collection to enable the parishioners to rebuild it, but with no success till Mr. Herbert undertook

dertook it; and he, by his own, and the contribution of many of his kindred and other noble friends, undertook the re-edification of it, and made it so much his whole business, that he became restless till he saw it finished as it now stands; being, for the workmanship, a costly mosaic; for the form, an exact cross; and for the decency and beauty, I am assured it is the most remarkable parish church that this nation affords. He lived to see it so wainscoated as to be exceeded by none; and by his order the reading-pew and pulpit were a little distant from each other, and both of an equal height; for he would often say, "They should neither have a precedency or priority of the other; but that prayer and preaching, being equally useful, might agree like brethren, and have an equal honour and estimation."

Before I proceed farther I must look back to the time of Mr. Herbert's being made prebend, and tell the reader, that not long after, his mother being informed of his intentions to rebuilt that church, and apprehending the great trouble and charge that he was like to draw upon himself, his relations, and friends before it could be finished, sent for him from London to Chelsea, (where she then dwelt,) and at his coming, said——"George, I sent for you, to persuade you to commit simony, by giving your patron as good a gift as he has given to you; namely, that you give him back his prebend; for, George, it is not for your weak body and empty purse to undertake to build churches." Of which he desired he might have a day's time to consider, and then make her an answer. And at his return to her the next day, when he had first desired her blessing, and she had given it him, his next request was, "That she would, at the age of thirty-three years, allow him to become an undutiful son;

for

for he had made a vow to God, that if he were able he would rebuild that church." And then shewed her such reasons for his resolution, that she presently subscribed to be one of his benefactors, and undertook to solicit William earl of Pembroke to become another, who subscribed for fifty pounds; and not long after, by a witty and persuasive letter from Mr. Herbert, made it fifty pounds more. And in this nomination of some of his benefactors, James duke of Lenox, and his brother sir Henry Herbert, ought to be remembered; as also the bounty of Mr. Nicholas Farrer and Mr. Arthur Woodnot, the one a gentleman in the neighbourhood of Layton, and the other a goldsmith in Foster-lane, London, ought not to be forgotten; for the memory of such men ought to outlive their lives. Of master Farrer I shall hereafter give an account in a more seasonable place; but before I proceed farther I will give this short account of master Arthur Woodnot.

He was a man that had considered overgrown estates do often require more care and watchfulness to preserve than get them; and considered that there be many discontents that riches cure not; and did therefore set limits to himself as to desire of wealth: and having attained so much as to be able to shew some mercy to the poor, and preserve a competence for himself, he dedicated the remaining part of his life to the service of God, and to be useful for his friends; and he proved to be so to Mr. Herbert; for, beside his own bounty, he collected and returned most of the money that was paid for the rebuilding of that church; he kept all the account of the charges, and would often go down to state them, and see all the workmen paid. When I have said, that this good man was a useful friend to Mr. Herbert's father, and to his mother, and continued to be so to him till he closed

closed his eyes on his death-bed, I will forbear to say more till I have the next fair occasion to mention the holy friendship that was betwixt him and Mr. Herbert.——From whom Mr. Woodnot carried to his mother this following letter, and delivered it to her in a sickness which was not long before that which proved to be her last.

A Letter of Mr. GEORGE HERBERT *to his Mother, in her Sickneſs.*

MADAM,

At my last parting from you I was the better content because I was in hope I should myself carry all sickness out of your family; but since I know I did not, and that your share continues, or rather increaseth, I wish earnestly that I were again with you: and would quickly make good my wish, but that my employment does fix me here, it being now but a month to our commencement; wherein my absence by how much it naturally augmenteth suspicion, by so much shall it make my prayers the more constant and the more earnest for you to the God of all consolation.——In the mean time, I beseech you to be cheerful, and comfort yourself in the God of all comfort, who is not willing to behold any sorrow but for sin.——What hath affliction grievous in it more than for a moment? or why should our afflictions here have so much power or boldness as to oppose the hope of our joys hereafter!——Madam! as the earth is but a point in respect of the heavens, so are earthly troubles compared to heavenly joys; therefore, if either age or sickness lead you to those joys, consider what advantage you have over youth and health, who are now so near those true comforts.——Your last letter

letter gave me earthly preferment, and I hope kept heavenly for yourself: but would you divide and choose to? Our college customs allow not that, and I should account myself most happy if I might change with you; for I have always observed the thread of life to be like other threads or skeins of silk, full of snarles and incumbrances: happy is he whose bottom is wound up and laid ready for use in the New Jerusalem.——For myself, dear mother, I always feared sickness more than death, because sickness hath made me unable to perform those offices for which I came into the world, and must yet be kept in it; but you are freed from that fear, who have already abundantly discharged that part, having both ordered your family, and so brought up your children that they have attained to the years of discretion, and competent maintenance.—So that now if they do not well the fault cannot be charged on you, whose example and care of them will justify you both to the world and your own conscience; insomuch that whether you turn your thoughts on the life past or on the joys that are to come, you have strong preservatives against all disquiet.——And for temporal afflictions, I beseech you consider all that can happen to you are either afflictions of estate, or body, or mind.——For those of estate; of what poor regard ought they to be, since if we had riches we are commanded to give them away; so that the best use of them is, having, not to have them.——But perhaps being above the common people, our credit and estimation calls on us to live in a more splendid fashion.——But, O God! how easily is that answered, when we consider that the blessings in the holy scripture are never given to the rich but to the poor. I never find, Blessed be the rich, or Blessed be the noble; but *Blessed be the meek*, and *Blessed be*

the poor, and *Blessed be the mourners, for they shall be comforted.*——And yet, O God! most carry themselves so as if they not only not desired, but even feared to be blessed.——And for afflictions of the body, dear madam, remember the holy martyrs of God, how they have been burnt by thousands, and have endured such other tortures as the very mention of them might beget amazement; but their fiery trials have had an end; and yours (which praised be God are less) are not like to continue long.——I beseech you let such thoughts as these moderate your present fear and sorrow; and know, that if any of your's should prove a Goliah-like trouble, yet you may say with David,—*That God who hath delivered me out of the paws of the lion and bear will also deliver me out of the hands of this uncircumcised Philistine.*——Lastly, for those afflictions of the soul: consider that God intends that to be as a sacred temple for himself to dwell in, and will not allow any room there for such an inmate as grief, or allow that any sadness shall be his competitor.——And above all, if any care of future things molest you, remember those admirable words of the psalmist: *Cast thy care on the Lord, and he shall nourish thee.* (Psal. 55.) To which join that of St. Peter, *Casting all your care on the Lord, for he careth for you.* (1 Pet. v. 7.)——What an admirable thing is this, that God puts his shoulder to our burthen! and entertains our care for us that we may the more quietly intend his service.——To conclude, let me commend only one place more to you, (Philip, iv. 4.) St. Paul saith there, *Rejoice in the Lord always, and again I say rejoice.* He doubles it, to take away the scruple of those that might say, What, shall we rejoice in afflictions? yes, I say again rejoice; so that it is not left to us to rejoice or not rejoice: but

but whatsoever befalls us we must always, at all times, rejoice in the Lord, who taketh care for us: and it follows in the next verse: *Let your moderation appear to all men, the Lord is at hand: be careful for nothing.* What can be said more comfortably? trouble not yourselves, God is at hand to deliver us from all, or in all.——Dear madam, pardon my boldness, and accept the good meaning of

Trin. Coll. May 25, 1622.

Your moſt obedient son,

GEORGE HERBERT.

About the year 1629, and the 34th of his age, Mr. Herbert was seized with a sharp quotidian ague, and thought to remove it by the change of air; to which end he went to Woodford, in Essex, but thither more chiefly to enjoy the company of his beloved brother, sir Henry Herbert, and other friends then of that family. In his house he remained about twelve months, and there became his own physician, and cured himself of his ague, by forbearing drink, and not eating any meat, no not mutton, nor a hen, or pigeon, unless they were salted; and by such a constant diet he removed his ague, but with inconveniencies that were worse; for he brought upon himself a disposition to rheums, and other weaknesses, and a supposed consumption. And it is to be noted, that in the sharpest of his extreme fits he would often say, "Lord, abate my great affliction, or increase my patience; but, Lord, I repine not; I am dumb, Lord, before thee, because thou doest it." By which, and a sanctified submission to the will of God, he shewed he was inclinable to bear the sweet yoke of Christian discipline, both then, and in the latter part of his life, of which there will be many true testimonies.

And now his care was to recover from his consumption by a change from Woodford into such an air as was most proper to that end. And his remove was to Dantsey, in Wiltshire, a noble house, which stands in a choice air; the owner of it then was the lord Danvers, earl of Danby, who loved Mr. Herbert so very much, that he allowed him such an apartment in it as might best suit with his accommodation and liking. And in this place, by a spare diet, declining all perplexing studies, moderate exercise, and a cheerful conversation, his health was apparently improved to a good degree of strength and cheerfulness: and then he declared his resolution both to marry and to enter into the sacred orders of priesthood. These had long been the desires of his mother and his other relations; but she lived not to see either, for she died in the year 1627. And though he was disobedient to her about Layton church, yet, in conformity to her will, he kept his orator's place till after her death, and then presently declined it; and the more willingly that he might be succeeded by his friend Robert Creighton, who is now Dr. Creighton, and the worthy bishop of Wells.

I shall now proceed to his marriage; in order to which it will be convenient that I first give the reader a short view of his person, and then an account of his wife, and of some circumstances concerning both.—He was for his person of a stature inclining towards tallness; his body was very strait, and so far from being cumbred with too much flesh, that he was lean to an extremity. His aspect was cheerful, and his speech and motion did both declare him a gentleman, for they were all so meek and obliging that they purchased love and respect from all that knew him.

These, and his other visible virtues, begot him

much love from a gentleman of a noble fortune, and a near kinsman to his friend the earl of Danby; namely, from Mr. Charles Danvers, of Bainton, in the county of Wilts, esq. This Mr. Danvers, having known him long and familiarly, did so much affect him, that he often and publicly declared a desire that Mr. Herbert would marry any of his nine daughters (for he had so many) but rather his daughter Jane than any other, because Jane was his beloved daughter. And he had often said the same to Mr. Herbert himself; and that if he could like her for a wife, and she him for a husband, Jane should have a double blessing: and Mr. Danvers had so often said the like to Jane, and so much commended Mr. Herbert to her, that Jane became so much a Platonic as to fall in love with Mr. Herbert unseen.

This was a fair preparation for a marriage; but alas, her father died before Mr. Herbert's retirement to Dantsey; yet some friends to both parties procured their meeting, at which time a mutual affection entered into both their hearts, as a conqueror enters into a surprized city; and love having got such possession, governed, and made there such laws and resolutions as neither party was able to resist; insomuch that she changed her name into Herbert the third day after this first interview.

This haste might in others be thought a love-phrensy, or worse; but it was not; for they had wooed so like princes as to have select proxies: such as were true friends to both parties, such as well understood Mr. Herbert's and her temper of mind, and also their estate so well, before this interview, that the suddenness was justifiable by the the strictest rules of prudence: and the more, because it proved so happy to both parties; for the eternal lover of mankind made them happy in each other's

other's mutual and equal affections and compliance; indeed so happy that there never was any opposition betwixt them, unless it were a contest which should most incline to a compliance with the other's desires. And though this begot and continued in them such a mutual love, and joy, and content, as was no way defective; yet this mutual content, and love, and joy did receive a daily augmentation by such daily obligingness to each other as still added such new affluences to the former fulness of these divine souls as was only improveable in heaven, where they now enjoy it.

About three months after his marriage, Dr. Curle, who was then rector of Bemerton, in Wiltshire, was made bishop of Bath and Wells, (and not long after translated to Winchester) and by that means the presentation of a clerk to Bemerton did not fall to the earl of Pembroke (who was the undoubted patron of it) but to the king, by reason of Dr. Curle's advancement: but Philip, then earl of Pembroke, (for William was lately dead) requested the king to bestow it upon his kinsman George Herbert; and the king said, "Most willingly to Mr. Herbert, if it be worth his acceptance:" and the earl as willingly and suddenly sent it to him, without seeking. But though Mr. Herbert had put on a resolution for the clergy, yet, at receiving this presentation, the apprehension of the last great account that he was to make for the cure of so many souls made him fast and pray often, and consider for not less than a month; in which time he had some resolutions to decline both the priesthood and that living. And in this time of considering, "He endured" (as he would often say) "such spiritual conflicts as none can think but only those that have endured them."

In the midst of these conflicts, his old and dear friend

friend Mr. Arther Woodnot, took a journey to salute him at Bainton (where he then was with his wife's friends and relations) and was joyful to be an eye-witness of his health, and happy marriage. And after they had rejoiced together some few days, they took journey to Wilton, the famous seat of the earls of Pembroke; at which time, the king, the earl, and the whole court were there, or at Salisbury, which is near to it. And at this time Mr. Herbert presented his thanks to the earl, for his presentation to Bemerton, but had not yet resolved to accept it, and told him the reason why; but that night, the earl acquainted Dr. Laud, then bishop of London, and after archbishop of Canterbury, with his kinsman's irresolution. And the bishop did the next day so convince Mr. Herbert, that the refusal of it was a sin; that a taylor was sent for to come speedily from Salisbury to Wilton, to take measure, and make him canonical cloaths, against next day: which the taylor did; and Mr. Herbert being so habited, went with his presentation to the learned Dr. Davenant, who was then bishop of Salisbury, and he gave him institution immediately (for Mr. Herbert had been made deacon some years before) and he was also the same day (which was April 26. 1630) inducted into the good, and more pleasant, than healthful parsonage of Bemerton: which is a mile from Salisbury.

I have now brought him to the parsonage of Bemerton, and to the thirty sixth year of his age, and must stop here, and bespeak the reader to prepare for an almost incredible story of the great sanctity of the short remainder of his holy life; a life so full of charity, humility, and all christian virtues, that it deserves the eloquence of St. Chrysostom to commend and declare it! A life! that if it were related by a pen like his, there would then be

be no need for this age to look back into times past for the examples of primitive piety: for, they might be all found in the life of George Herbert. But now, alas! who is fit to undertake it? I confess I am not: and am not pleased with myself that I must; and profess myself amazed, when I consider how few of the clergy lived like him then, and how many live so unlike him now.—But, it becomes not me to censure: my design is rather to assure the reader, that I have used very great diligence to inform myself, that I might inform him of the truth of what follows; and though I cannot adorn it with eloquence, yet I will do it with sincerity.

When at his induction he was shut into Bemerton church, being left there alone to toll the bell, (as the law requires him:) he staid so much longer than an ordinary time, before he returned to those friends that staid expecting him at the church-door, that his friend Mr. Woodnot looked in at the church-window, and saw him lie prostrate on the ground before the altar: at which time and place (as he after told Mr. Woodnot) he set some rules to himself, for the future manage of his life; and then and there made a vow, to labour to keep them.

And the same night that he had his induction, he said to Mr. Woodnot, "I now look back upon my aspiring thoughts, and think myself more happy than if I had attained what then I so ambitiously thirsted for. And, I can now behold the court with an impartial eye, and see plainly, that it is made up of fraud and titles, and flattery, and many other such empty, imaginary painted pleasures: pleasures, that are so empty, as not to satisfy when they are enjoyed; but, in God and his service, is a fulness of all joy and pleasure, and no satiety. And I will now use all my endeavours to bring my relations and dependants to a love and reliance on him,

him, who never fails those that trust him. But above all, I will be sure to live well, because the virtuous life of a clergyman is the most powerful eloquence to persuade all that see it, to reverence and love, and at least, to desire to live like him. And this I will do, because I know we live in an age that hath more need of good examples, than precepts. And I beseech that God, who hath honoured me so much as to call me to serve him at his altar, that as by his special grace he hath put into my heart these good desires, and resolutions; so, he will by his assisting grace give me ghostly strength to bring the same to good effect: and I beseech him that my humble and charitable life may so win upon others, as to bring glory to my Jesus, whom I have this day taken to be my master and governor; and I am so proud of his service, that I will always observe, and obey, and do his will; and always call him Jesus my master; and I will always contemn my birth, or any title or dignity that can be conferred upon me, when I shall compare them with my title of being a priest, and serving at the altar of Jesus my master."

And that he did so, may appear in many parts of his book of Sacred Poems; especially, in that which he calls the Odour. In which he seems to rejoice in the thoughts of that word Jesus, and say that the adding these words *my master* to it, and the often repetition of them, seemed to perfume his mind, and leave an oriental fragrancy in his very breath. And for his unforced choice to serve at God's altar, he seems in another place of his Poems (the Pearl, Matth. xiii.) to rejoice and say—"He knew the ways of learning; knew, what nature does willingly; and what when it is forced by fire: knew the ways of honour, and when glory inclines the soul to noble expressions: knew the court:

court: knew the ways of pleasure, of love, of wit, of music, and upon what terms he declined all these for the service of his master Jesus," and then concludes, saying,

That, through these labyrinths, not my groveling wit,
But, thy silk-twist, let down from heaven to me,
Did, both conduct, and teach me, how by it,
To climb to thee.

The third day after he was made rector of Bemerton, and had changed his sword and silk cloaths into a canonical coat, he returned so habited with his friend Mr. Woodnot to Bainton: and, immediately after he had seen and saluted his wife, he said to her—"You are now a minister's wife, and must now so far forget your father's house, as not to claim a precedence of any of your parishioners; for you are to know, that a priest's wife can challenge no precedence or place, but that which she purchases by her obliging humility; and, I am sure, places so purchased do best become them. And, let me tell you, that I am so good a herald as to assure you that this is truth." And she was so meek a wife, "as to assure him that it was no vexing news to her, and that he should see her observe it with a chearful willingness." And indeed her unforced humility, that humility that was in her so original, as to be born with her! made her so happy as to do so; and her doing so begot her an unfeigned love, and a serviceable respect from all that conversed with her; and this love followed her in all places, as inseparably, as shadows follow substances in sun-shine.

It was not many days before he returned back to Bemerton, to view the church, and repair the chancel;

chancel; and indeed, to rebuild almost three parts of his house which was fallen down, or decayed by reason of his predecessors living at a better parsonage-house; namely, at Minal, 16 or 20 miles from this place. At which time of Mr. Herbert's coming alone to Bemerton, there came to him a poor old woman, with an intent to acquaint him with her necessitous condition, as also with some troubles of her mind; but after she had spoke some few words to him, she was surprised with a fear, and that begot a shortness of breath, so that her spirits and speech failed her; which he perceiving, did so compassionate her, and was so humble, that he took her by the hand, and said, "Speak, good mother, be not afraid to speak to me; for I am a man that will hear you with patience! and will relieve your necessities too, if I be able: and this I will do willingly, and therefore, mother, be not afraid to acquaint me with what you desire." After which comfortable speech, he again took her by the hand, made her sit down by him, and understanding she was of his parish, he told her, "He would be acquainted with her, and take her into his care:" and having with patience heard and understood her wants (and it is some relief for a poor body to be but heard with patience) he like a christian clergyman comforted her by his meek behaviour and counsel: but because that cost him nothing, he relieved her with money too, and so sent her home with a chearful heart, praising God, and praying for him. Thus worthy, and (like David's blessed man) thus lowly, was Mr. George Herbert in his own eyes: and thus lovely in the eyes of others.

At his return that night to his wife at Bainton, he gave her an account of the passages betwixt him and the poor woman: with which she was so affected,

affected, that she went next day to Salisbury, and there bought a pair of blankets and sent them as a token of her love to the poor woman: and with them a message, "That she would see and be acquainted with her, when her house was built at Bemerton."

There be many such passages both of him and his wife, of which, some few will be related; but I shall first tell, that he hasted to get the parish-church repaired; then to beautify the chapel (which stands near his house) and that at his own great charge. He then proceeded to re-build the greatest part of the parsonage-house, which he did also very compleatly, and at his own charge; and, having done this good work, he caused these verses to be writ upon it, or engraven in the mantle of the chimney in his hall.

To my successor.

If thou chance for to find
A new house to thy mind,
And built without thy cost:
Be good to the poor,
As God gives thee store,
And then my labour's not lost.

We will now by the readers favour suppose him fixed at Bemerton, and grant him to have seen the church repaired, and the chapel belonging to it very decently adorned, at his own great charge (which is a real truth) and having now fixed him there, I shall proceed to give an account of the rest of his behaviour both to his parishioners, and those many others that knew and conversed with him.

Doubtless Mr. Herbert had considered and given rules

rules to himself for his christian carriage both to God and man, before he entered into holy orders. And it is not unlike, but that he renewed those resolutions at his prostration before the holy altar, at his induction into the church of Bemerton; but as yet he was but a deacon, and therefore longed for the next Ember-week, that he might be ordained priest, and made capable of administering both the sacraments. At which time, the reverend Dr. Humphrey Hinchman, now lord bishop of London (who does not mention him, but with some veneration for his life and excellent learning) tells me, "He laid his hand on Mr. Herbert's head, and (alas!) within less than three years, lent his shoulder to carry his dear friend to his grave."

And that Mr. Herbert might the better preserve those holy rules which such a priest as he intended to be, ought to observe; and, that time might not insensibly blot them out of his memory, but that the next year might shew him his variations from this year's resolutions; he therefore, did set down his rules, then resolved upon, in that order, as the world now sees them printed in a little book called, The Country Parson, in which some of his rules are:

The Parson's Knowledge.
The Parson on Sundays.
The Parson Praying.
The Parson Preaching.
The Parson's Charity.
The Parson comforting the Sick.
The Parson Arguing.
The Parson Condescending.
The Parson in his journey.
The Parson in his Mirth.
The Parson with his Churchwardens.
The Parson blessing the People.

And

And his behaviour toward God and man may be said to be a practical comment on these, and the other holy rules set down in that useful book. A book, so full of plain, prudent and useful rules, that, that country parson, that can spare twelve pence and yet wants it, is scarce excusable; because it will both direct him what he ought to do, and convince him for not having done it.

At the death of Mr. Herbert, this book fell into the hands of his friend Mr. Woodnot; and he commended it into the trusty hands of Mr. Barnabas Oly, who publised it [4] with a most conscientious, and excellent preface; from which I have had some of those truths, that are related in this life of Mr. Herbert. The text for his first sermon was taken out of Solomon's Proverbs, and the words were, *Keep thy heart with all diligence.* In which first sermon, he gave his parishioners many necessary, holy, safe rules for the discharge of a good conscience, both to God and man. And delivered his sermon after a most florid manner; both with great learning and eloquence. But at the close of this sermon, told them, " That should not be his constant way of preaching; for, since Almighty God does not intend to lead men to heaven by

[4] *Who published it.*] The *Country Parson* has been lately reprinted, at the Clarendon Press, by the University of Oxford, in a volume intitled *The Clergyman's Instructor*; which contains also Bishop Burnet's *Pastoral Care*, Bishop Bull's *Directions to Candidates for Holy Orders*, and some other excellent tracts on the ministerial duties; the whole forming a very valuable addition to the highly important services which have recently been rendered by that University to the cause of religion, and of the Church of England in particular, by the republication of a collection of works of our English Divines, for the use of the younger Clergy, and students in Theology. The collection comprises the Homilies, Hooker's Works, Pearson on the Creed, Stillingfleets Origines Sacræ, Sermons by Dr. Barrow, Walton's Lives, &c. &c.

hard

hard questions, he would not therefore fill their heads with unnecessary notions; but, that for their sakes, his language and his expressions should be more plain and practical in his future sermons." And he then made it his humble request, that they would be constant to the afternoon's service, and catechising. And shewed them convincing reasons why he desired it; and his obliging example and persuasions brought them to a willing conformity to his desires.

The texts for all his future sermons (which God knows were not many) were constantly taken out of the gospel for the day; and, he did as constantly declare why the church did appoint that portion of scripture to be that day read: and in what manner the collect for every Sunday does refer to the gospel, or to the epistle then read to them; and, that they might pray with understanding, he did usually take occasion to explain, not only the collect for every particular Sunday, but the reasons of all the other collects and responses in our church-service; and made it appear to them, that the whole service of the church, was a reasonable, and therefore an acceptable sacrifice to God; as namely, that we begin with confession of ourselves to be vile, miserable sinners: and that we begin so, because till we have confessed ourselves to be such, we are not capable of that mercy which we acknowledge we need, and pray for; but having in the prayer of our Lord, begged pardon for those sins which we have confest: and hoping that as the priest hath declared our absolution, so by our public confession, and real repentance, we have obtained that pardon; then we dare and do proceed to beg of the Lord, *to open our lips, that our mouths may shew forth his praise;* for till then, we are neither able, nor worthy to praise him. But this

this being supposed, we are then fit to say, *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost;* and fit to proceed to a further service of our God, in the collects, and psalms, and lauds that follow in the service.

And as to these psalms and lauds, he proceeded to inform them, why they were so often, and some of them daily repeated in our church-service: namely, the psalms every month, because they be an historical and thankful repetition of mercies past; and such a composition of prayers and praises, as ought to be repeated often, and publickly; for with such sacrifices, God is honoured, and well-pleased. This, for the psalms.

And for the hymns and lauds, appointed to be daily repeated or sung after the first and second lessons are read to the congregation; he proceeded to inform them, that it was most reasonable, after they have heard the will and goodness of God declared or preached by the priest in his reading the two chapters, that it was then a seasonable duty to rise up and express their gratitude to Almighty God for those his mercies to them, and to all mankind; and then to say with the blessed Virgin, *That their souls do magnify the Lord, and that their spirits do also rejoice in God their Saviour.* And that it was their duty also to rejoice with Simeon in his song, and say with him, *That their eyes have also seen their salvation;* for, they have seen that salvation which was but prophesyed till his time: and he then broke out into those expressions of joy that he did see it, but, they live to see it daily, in the history of it, and therefore ought daily to rejoice, and daily to offer up their sacrifices of praise to their God, for that particular mercy. A service, which is now the constant employment of that blessed Virgin, and Simeon, and all those blessed saints that are

possest

possest of heaven: and, where they are at this time interchangeably, and constantly singing, *Holy, holy, holy Lord God, glory be to God on high, and on earth peace.*——And he taught them, that to do this, was an acceptable service to God, because the prophet David says in his psalms, *He that praiseth the Lord, honoureth him.*

He made them to understand, how happy they be that are freed from the incumbrances of that law which our fore-fathers groaned under; namely, from the legal sacrifices, and from the many ceremonies of the levitical law; freed from circumcision, and from the strict observation of the Jewish Sabbath, and the like: and he made them know, that having received so many, and so great blessings, by being born since the days of our Saviour, it must be an acceptable sacrifice to Almighty God, for them to acknowledge those blessings daily, and stand up and worship, and say as Zacharias did, *Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, for he hath* (in our days) *visited and redeemed his people; and* (he hath in our days) *remembered, and shewed that mercy which by the mouth of the prophets, he promised to our fore-fathers:* and this he hath done, *according to his holy covenant made with them.* And he made them to understand that we live to see and enjoy the benefit of it, in his birth, in his life, in his passion, his resurrection and ascension into heaven, where he now sits sensible of all our temptations and infirmities; and where he is at this present time making intercession for us, to his, and our father: and therefore they ought daily to express their public gratulations, and say daily with Zacharias, *Blessed be that Lord God of Israel, that hath thus visited, and thus redeemed his people.*——These were some of the reasons by which Mr. Herbert in-

structed his congregation for the use of the psalms, and the hymns appointed to be daily sung or said in the church-service.

He informed them also, when the priest did pray only for the congregation, and not for himself; and when they did only pray for him, as namely, after the repetition of the creed, before he proceeds to pray the Lords prayer, or any of the appointed collects, the priest is directed to kneel down, and pray for them, saying——*The Lord be with you*——And when they pray for him, saying——*And with thy spirit;* and then they join together in the following collects; and he assured them, that when there is such mutual love, and such joint prayers offered for each other, then the holy angels look down from heaven, and are ready to carry such charitable desires to God Almighty; and he as ready to receive them; and that a christian congregation calling thus upon God, with one heart, and one voice, and in one reverend and humble posture, look as beautifully as Jerusalem, that is at peace with itself.

He instructed them also, why the prayer of our Lord was prayed often [5] in every full service of the church; namely, at the conclusion of the several parts

[5] *Why the prayer of our Lord was prayed often.*] "Marvel not that I use at the sermons end to make prayer, for I do it not of singularitie: but when I am at home, and in the countrey where I goe, sometime when the poore people come and aske it me, I appose them my selfe, or cause my servant to appose them of the Lordes Prayer, and they aunswere some, "I can my Latin *Pater noster*;" some, "I can the old *Pater noster*, but not the new." Therefore, *that all that can it not may learne*, I use before the Sermon and after to say it. Wherefore now I beseeche you let us say it together; *Our father whiche art in heaven, &c.*" Latimers *Sermons*. fol. 100. edit. 1584. Calvin "ever concluded his prayer before or after Sermon with repeating of the Creed and Lord's prayer, conceiving

parts of that service; and prayed then, not only because it was composed, and commanded by our Jesus that made it, but as a perfect pattern for our less perfect forms of prayer, and therefore fittest to sum up and conclude all our imperfect petitions.

He instructed them also, that as by the second commandment we are required, not to bow down, or worship an idol, or false god; so by the contrary rule, we are to bow down and kneel, or stand up and worship the true God. And he instructed them, why the church required the congregation to stand up at the repetition of the creeds; namely, because they did thereby declare both their obedience to the church, and an assent to that faith into which they had been baptized. And he taught them, that in that shorter creed or doxology

conceiving it to be of good use to have these often sounding in the ears of the people, as Beza tells us in writing his life." Bernard's *Life of Archbishop Usher*. p. 84. "It is no wonder you are thought a legal preacher" (says Mr. Clark, in a letter to Dr. Doddridge, when a young man) "when you have the ten commandments painted on the walls of your chappel: besides, you have a clerk, it seems, so impertinent as to say *Amen*, with an audible voice. *O tempora! O mores!* that such a ray of Popery should ever be tolerated in a congregation of Protestant Dissenters: and to conclude all, you, the Minister, conclude your prayers with a form called the Lord's Prayer.—It may be you are surprised what this means. In a few words then Mr. Chandler of Bedford, being on his return home, at Mr. Eccles's, desired him upon my motion to write to Hertford, to recommend you to them in his name, as a very fit man to be their Minister. Upon this, two members of that congregation went the other day to Kibworth to hear you preach: but no sooner did they come into the place but they found themselves disappointed: and what they heard at the close confirmed them so much in their prejudices, that they thought it needless to say any thing of their intention to you. Going to preach last Sunday at Ware, I heard all this there; and afterwards at Hertford." *Letters to and from Dr. Doddridge*. p. 14.

so often repeated daily, they also stood up to testify their belief[6] to be, that *the God that they trusted in was one God, and three persons; the Father, the Son, and the holy Ghost; to whom they and the priest gave glory:* and because there had been heretics that had denyed some of these three persons to be God; therefore the congregation stood up and honoured him, by confessing and saying, *It was so in the beginning, is now so, and shall ever be so world without end.* And all gave their assent to this belief, by standing up and saying, *Amen.*

He instructed them also, what benefit they had by the church's appointing the celebration of holidays[7], and the excellent use of them; namely, that they were set apart for particular commemorations of

[6] *To testify their belief.*] "I know a Minister" (says Fuller in his Church History, speaking of the times when the Liturgy was forbidden by an ordinance of the Parliament, and the Presbyterian Directory was established) "I know a Minister who was accused for using the *Gloria Patri* (conforming his practice to the Directorie in all things else), and threatened to be brought to the Committee. He pleaded the words of Mr. Cartwright in his defence, "confessing" (*Reply against Whitgift*, p. 107. sect. 4.) "the *Gloria Patri* founded on just cause, that men might make their open profession in the Church of the Divinity of the Son of God, against the detestable opinion of Arius and his Disciples. But now (saith he) that it hath pleased the Lord to quench that fire, there is no such cause why those things should be used." But seeing (said the Minister) it hath pleased God for our sins to condemn us to live in so licentious an age, wherein the Divinity both of Christ and the Holy Ghost is called frequently and publickly into question, the same now (by Mr. Cartwright's judgment) may lawfully be used, not to say cannot well be omitted.—I remember not that he heard any more of the matter." *Church History of Britain.* Cent. 17. p. 224. Compare Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity.* Book 5. §. 42.

[7] *Celebration of holidays.*] "In the year 1643, the ministers of the city of London met together to consult whether they should preach on the Christmas day following, as they had

of particular mercies received from Almighty God; and (as reverend Mr. Hooker says) to be the land-marks to distinguish times; for by them we are taught to take notice how time passes by us; and, that we ought not to let the years pass without a celebration of praise for those mercies which those days give us occasion to remember; and therefore they were to note that the year is appointed to begin[s] the 25th day of March; a day in which we commemorate the angel's appearing to the blessed Virgin, with the joyful tidings that she should conceive and bear a son, that should be the redeemer of mankind; and she did so forty weeks this joyful salutation; namely, at our Christmas: a day in which we commemorate

had been wont to do, or take no notice at all of the day. One of them, whom I shall not name, of great authority amongst them, was against their preaching, and was very near prevailing with the rest of his brethren to forbear. Our author" (Dr. John Lightfoot) " was at that meeting (being at that time minister at St. Bartholomew's aforesaid), who was so far from consenting to the advice of that person who gave it, that he took him aside, and argued the point with him; and did not only maintain the *lawfulness* of the thing in question, but the *expedience* of it also: and shewed that the omitting it would be of dangerous consequence, and would reflect very much upon those men who made profession of no other design but reforming what was culpable and faulty. In a word he so far prevailed with the company, that when it was put to the question, it was carried in the affirmative, and there were not above four or five of the whole who dissented." Strype's *Life of Lightfoot*, prefixed to his works, p. 3. See also Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, book 5. §. 69. The first distaste of the celebration of holy-days in the church of England, was contracted at Geneva. See Goodman's *How to obey*. A. D. 1558. p. 152.

[s] *Appointed to begin.*] " I shall observe (though perhaps every body knows it), that we use two different computations in this nation, viz. the common or Julian, which begins the year on the first day of January; and the *ecclesiastical*, which begins the year on *the twenty-fifth of March.*" Bennet's *Essay on the thirty-nine Articles*. p. 247.

his

his birth, with joy and praise; and that eight days after this happy birth, we celebrate his circumcision; namely, in that which we call New-year's day. And that upon that day which we call Twelfth-day, we commemorate the manifestation of the unsearchable riches of Jesus to the Gentiles: and that that day we also celebrate the memory of his goodness in sending a star to guide the three wise men from the East to Bethlem, that they might there worship, and present him with their oblations of gold, frankincense, and myrrh. And he (Mr. Herbert) instructed them, that Jesus was, forty days after his birth, presented by his blessed mother in the temple; namely, on that day which we call, the purification of the blessed virgin, saint Mary. And he instructed them, that by the lent-fast, we imitate and commemorate our Saviour's humiliation in fasting forty days; and, that we ought to endeavour to be like him in purity. And, that on Good-friday, we commemorate and condole his crucifixion. And, at Easter, commemorate his glorious resurrection. And he taught them, that after Jesus had manifested himself to his disciples, to be *that Christ that was crucified, dead and buried;* and by his appearing and conversing with his disciples for the space of forty days after his resurrection, he then, and not till then, *ascended into heaven,* in the sight of those disciples; namely, on that day which we call the ascension, or Holy Thursday. And that we then celebrate the performance of the promise which he made to his disciples, at or before his ascension; namely, *that though he left them, yet he would send them the Holy Ghost to be their comforter;* and that he did so on that day which the church calls Whitsunday.——Thus the church keeps an historical and circular commemoration of times, as they pass by us; of such times, as ought to incline us to occasional

casional praises, for the particular blessings which we do, or might receive by those holy commemorations.

He made them know also, why the church hath appointed ember-weeks; and, to know the reason why the commandments, and the epistles and gospels were to be read at the altar, or communion table: why the priest was to pray the litany kneeling; and, why to pray some collects standing; and he gave them many other observations, fit for his plain congregation, but not fit for me now to mention; for, I must set limits to my pen, and not make that a treatise, which I intended to be a much shorter account than I have made it.—But I have done, when I have told the reader, that he was constant in catechising every sunday in the afternoon, and that his catechising was after his second lesson, and in the pulpit, and that he never exceeded his half hour, and was always so happy as to have an obedient, and a full congregation.

And, to this I must add, that if he were at any time too zealous in his sermons, it was, in reproving the indecencies of the people's behaviour, in the time of divine service; and of those ministers that huddled up the church-prayers, without a visible reverence and affection; namely, such as seemed to say the Lord's prayer, or a collect in a breath; but for himself, his custom was, to stop betwixt every collect, and give the people time to consider what they had prayed, and to force their desires affectionately to God, before he engaged them into new petitions.

And by this account of his diligence, to make his parishioners understand what they prayed, and why they praised, and adored their Creator, I hope I shall the more easily obtain the reader's belief to the following

lowing account of Mr. Herbert's own practice; which was, to appear constantly with his wife, and three nieces (the daughters of a deceased sister) and his whole family, twice every day at the church-prayers, in the chapel which does almost join to his parsonage-house. And for the time of his appearing, it was strictly at the canonical hours of ten and four; and then, and there he lifted up pure, and charitable hands to God in the midst of the congregation. And he would joy to have spent that time in that place, where the honour of his master Jesus dwelleth; and there, by that inward devotion which he testified constantly by an humble behaviour, and visible adoration, he, like Joshua brought not only *his own houshold thus to serve the Lord;* but brought most of his parishioners, and many gentlemen in the neighbourhood, constantly to make a part of his congregation twice a day; and some of the meaner sort of his parish, did so love and reverence Mr. Herbert, that they would let their plough rest when Mr. Herbert's saint's-bell rung to prayers, that they might also offer their devotions to God with him: and would then return back to their plough. And his most holy life was such, that it begot such reverence to God, and to him, that they thought themselves the happier, when they carried Mr. Herbert's blessing back with them to their labour.——Thus powerful was his reason, and example, to persuade others to a practical piety, and devotion.

And his constant public prayers did never make him to neglect his own private devotions, nor those prayers that he thought himself bound to perform with his family, which always were a set form, and not long; and he did always conclude them with that collect which the church hath appointed for the

the day or week.—Thus he made every day's sanctity a step towards that kingdom where impurity cannot enter.

His chiefest recreation was music, in which heavenly art he was a most excellent master, and, did himself compose many divine hymns and anthems, which he set and sung to his lute or viol; and, though he was a lover of retiredness, yet his love to music was such, that he went usually twice every week on certain appointed days, to the cathedral church in Salisbury; and at his return would say, "That his time spent in prayer, and cathedral music[9], elevated his soul, and was his heaven upon earth." But before his return thence to Bemerton, he would usually sing and play his part, at an appointed private music-meeting; and, to justify this practice, he would often say, "Religion does not banish mirth, but only moderates, and sets rules to it."

And, as his desire to enjoy his heaven upon earth drew him twice every week to Salisbury, so his walks thither were the occasion of many happy accidents to others: of which, I will mention some few.

In one of his walks to Salisbury, he overtook a gentleman that is still living in that city, and in their walk together, Mr. Herbert took a fair occasion to talk with him, and humbly begged to be excused, if he asked him some account of his faith, and said, "I do this the rather, because though you are not of my parish, yet I receive tythe from you by the hand of your tenant; and, sir, I am the bolder to do it, because I know there be some sermon-hearers, that be like those fishes, that always live in salt water, and yet are always fresh."

[9] *Cathedral music.*] See Vol. I. p. 170. note 5.

After

After which expression, Mr. Herbert asked him some needful questions, and having received his answer, gave him such rules for the trial of his sincerity, and for a practical piety, and in so loving and meek a manner, that the gentleman did so fall in love with him, and his discourse, that he would often contrive to meet him in his walk to Salisbury, or to attend him back to Bemerton; and still mentions the name of Mr. George Herbert with veneration, and still praiseth God for the occasion of knowing him.

In another of his Salisbury walks, he met with a neighbour minister, and after some friendly discourse betwixt them, and some condolement for the decay of piety, and too general contempt of the clergy, Mr. Herbert took occasion to say,

"One cure for these distempers, would be for the clergy themselves to keep the ember-weeks[1] strictly, and beg of their parishioners to join with them in fasting and prayers, for a more religious clergy.

"And another cure would be, for themselves to restore the great and neglected duty of catechizing[2], on which the salvation of so many of the poor and ignorant lay-people does depend; but principally, that

[1] *To keep the ember-weeks.*] See *Life of Hooker.*

[2] *Duty of catechizing.* "In the afternoon" (says Dr. Nicholas Bernard, speaking of Archbishop Usher) "this was his order to me, that, besides the catechizing of the youth before publick prayers, I should after the first and second lesson, spend about half an hour in a brief and plain opening the principles of religion in the publick catechism: and after that I was to preach also. First he directed me to go through the creed *at once*, giving but the sum of each article; then next time *at thrice;* and afterwards, each time an article, as they might be more able to bear it: and so proportionably the ten Commandments, Lord's Prayer, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments. The good fruit of which was apparent in the vulgar people

that the clergy themselves would be sure to live unblameably; and that the dignified clergy especially, which preach temperance, would avoid surfeiting, and take all occasions to express a visible humility, and charity in their lives; for this would force a love and an imitation, and an unfeigned reverence from all that knew them to be such." (And for proof of this, we need no other testimony, than the life and death of Dr. Lake[3], late lord bishop of Bath and Wells.) "This" (said Mr. Herbert) "would be a cure for the wickedness and growing atheism of our age. And, my dear brother, till this be done by us, and done in earnest, let no man expect a reformation of the manners of the laity: for it is not learning, but this, this only, that must do it; and till then, the fault must lie at our doors."

In another walk to Salisbury, he saw a poor man, with a poorer horse, that was fallen under his load. They were both in distress, and needed present help; which Mr. Herbert perceiving, put off his canonical coat, and helped the poor man to unload, and after, to load his horse. The poor man blest him for it; and he blest the poor man; and was so like the good Samaritan, that he gave him money to refresh both himself and his horse; and told him, "That if he loved himself, he should be merciful to his beast."——Thus he left the poor man, and at his coming to his musical friends at Salisbury,

people upon their approach unto the communion, when, *as by the then order*, the names of the receivers were to be given in, so some account was constantly taken of their fitness for it. An exemplary injunction for this age, *having been too much neglected.*" Life of Archbishop Usher. p. 84. A. D. 1656.

[3] *Of Dr. Lake.*] See a *Short View of the Life and Virtues of Dr. Arthur Lake, Bishop of Bath and Wells*, prefixed to his *Sermons*, fol. 1629.

they

they began to wonder that Mr. George Herbert which used to be so trim and clean, came into that company so soiled and discomposed; but he told them the occasion: and when one of the company told him, "He had disparaged himself by so dirty an employment;" his answer was, "That the thought of what he had done, would prove music to him at midnight; and that the omission of it would have upbraided and made discord in his conscience, whensoever he should pass by that place; for, if I be bound to pray for all that be in distress, I am sure that I am bound so far as it is in my power to practise what I pray for. And though I do not wish for the like occasion every day, yet let me tell you, I would not willingly pass one day of my life without comforting a sad soul, or shewing mercy; and I praise God for this occasion: and now let's tune our instruments."

Thus, as our blessed Saviour after his resurrection, did take occasion to interpret the Scripture to Cleophas, and that other disciple which he met with and accompanied in their journey to Emmaus; so Mr. Herbert, in his path toward heaven, did daily take any fair occasion to instruct the ignorant, or comfort any that were in affliction; and did always confirm his precepts, by shewing humility and mercy, and ministering grace to the hearers.

And he was most happy in his wife's unforced compliance with his acts of charity, whom he made his almoner, and paid constantly into her hand a tenth penny of what money he received for tythe, and gave her power to dispose that to the poor of his parish, and with it a power to dispose a tenth part of the corn that came yearly into his barn; which trust she did most faithfully perform, and would often offer to him an account of her stewardship, and as often beg an enlargement of his bounty,

bounty, for she rejoiced in the employment; and this was usually laid out by her in blankets and shoes, for some such poor people, as she knew to stand in most need of them. This, as to her charity.—And for his own, he set no limits to it; nor did ever turn his face from any that he saw in want, but would relieve them; especially his poor neighbours; to the meanest of whose houses he would go and inform himself of their wants, and relieve them cheerfully if they were in distress, and, would always praise God, as much for being willing, as for being able to do it.——And, when he was advised by a friend to be more frugal, because he might have children, his answer was, "He would not see the danger of want so far off; but, being the scripture does so commend charity, as to tell us, that charity is the top of christian virtues, the covering of sins, the fulfilling of the law, the life of faith: and that charity hath a promise of the blessings of this life, and of a reward in that life which is to come; being these, and more excellent things are in scripture spoken of thee, O Charity, and that, being all my tithes, and church-dues, are a deodate from thee, O my God! make me, O my God, so far to trust thy promise, as to return them back to thee; and, by thy grace, I will do so, in distributing them to any of thy poor members that are in distress, or do but bear the image of Jesus my master. Sir" (said he to his friend) "my wife hath a competent maintenance secured her after my death, and therefore as this is my prayer, so this my resolution shall by God's grace be unalterable."

This may be some account of the excellencies of the active part[4] of his life; and, thus he continued,

[4] *The active part.*] "His time he ever measured by the *pulse*, that *native watch* which God has set in every one of us." Life by Barnabas Oley.

till

till a consumption so weakened him, as to confine him to his house, or to the chapel, which does almost join to it; in which he continued to read prayers constantly twice every day, though he were very weak; in one of which times of his reading, his wife observed him to read in pain, and told him so, and, that it wasted his spirits, and weakened him: and he confessed it did, but said, "His life could not be better spent, than in the service of his master Jesus, who had done and suffered so much for him. But," said he, "I will not be wilful: for though my spirit be willing, yet I find my flesh is weak; and therefore Mr. Bostock shall be appointed to read prayers for me to-morrow, and I will now be only a hearer of them, till this mortal shall put on immortality." And Mr. Bostock did the next day undertake and continue this happy employment, till Mr. Herbert's death.——This Mr. Bostock was a learned and virtuous man, an old friend of Mr. Herbert's and then his curate to the church of Fulston, which is a mile from Bemerton, to which church Bemerton is but a chapel of ease. ——And this Mr. Bostock did also constantly supply the church-service for Mr. Herbert in that chapel, when the music-meeting at Salisbury caused his absence from it.

About one month before his death, his friend Mr. Farrer (for an account of whom I am by promise indebted to the reader, and intend to make him sudden payment) hearing of Mr. Herbert's sickness, sent Mr. Edmund Duncon (who is now rector of Fryer Barnet in the county of Middlesex) from his house of Gidden-hall, which is near to Huntingdon, to see Mr. Herbert, and to assure him, he wanted not his daily prayers for his recovery; and, Mr. Duncon was to return back to Gidden, with an account of Mr. Herbert's condition. Mr. Duncon found

found him weak, and at that time lying on his bed, or on a pallat; but at his seeing Mr. Duncon, he raised himself vigorously, saluted him, and with some earnestness enquired the health of his brother Farrer? of which Mr. Duncon satisfied him; and after some discourse of Mr. Farrer's holy life, and the manner of his constant serving God, he said to Mr. Duncon——" Sir, I see by your habit that you are a priest, and I desire you to pray with me;" which being granted, Mr. Duncon asked him, " what prayers?" to which, Mr. Herbert's answer was, " O sir, the prayers of my mother, the church of England, no other prayers are equal to them! but, at this time, I beg of you to pray only the Litany, for I am weak and faint;" and Mr. Duncon did so. After which, and some other discourse of Mr. Farrer, Mrs. Herbert provided Mr. Duncon a plain supper, and a clean lodging, and he betook himself to rest.—This Mr. Duncon tells me; and tells me, that at his first view of Mr. Herbert, he saw majesty and humility so reconciled in his looks and behaviour, as begot in him an awful reverence for his person; and says, " his discourse was so pious, and his motion so gentle and meek, that after almost forty years, yet they remain still fresh in his memory."

The next morning Mr. Duncon left him, and betook himself to a journey to Bath, but with a promise to return back to him within five days, and he did so; but before I shall say any thing of what discourse then fell betwixt them two, I will pay my promised account of Mr. Farrer.

Mr. Nicholas Farrer (who got the reputation of being called saint Nicholas, at the age of six years) was born in London, and doubtless had good education in his youth; but certainly, was at an early age made fellow of Clare-hall in Cambridge, where he

he continued to be eminent for his piety, temperance, and learning.——About the 26th year of his age, he betook himself to travel; in which he added to his Latin and Greek, a perfect knowledge of all the languages spoken in the western parts of our christian world; and understood well the principles of their religion, and of their manner, and the reasons of their worship.——In this his travel he met with many persuasions to come into a communion with that church which calls itself Catholic: but, he returned from his travels as he went, eminent for his obedience to his mother, the church of England. In his absence from England, Mr. Farrer's father (who was a merchant) allowed him a liberal maintenance; and not long after his return into England, Mr. Farrer had by the death of his father, or an elder brother, or both, an estate left him, that enabled him to purchase land to the value of 4 or 500l. a year; the greatest part of which land was at Little Gidden, four or six miles from Huntington, and about 18 from Cambridge: which place, he chose for the privacy of it, and for the hall, which had the parish-church, or chapel belonging, and adjoining near to it; for, Mr. Farrer having seen the manners and vanities of the world, and found them to be, as Mr. Herbert says, "A nothing between two dishes;" did so contemn it, that he resolved to spend the remainder of his life in mortifications, and in devotion, and charity, and to be always prepared for death.——And his life was spent thus.

He, and his family, which were like a little college, and about thirty in number, did most of them keep Lent, and all ember-weeks strictly, both in fasting, and using all those mortifications and prayers that the church hath appointed to be then used: and, he and they, did the like constantly on Fridays, and

on

on the vigils, or eves appointed to be fasted before the saints-days: and this frugality and abstinence turned to the relief of the poor: but this was but a part of his charity, none but God and he knew the rest.

This family, which I have said to be in number about thirty, were a part of them his kindred, and the rest chosen to be of a temper fit to be moulded into a devout life; and all of them were for their dispositions serviceable and quiet, and humble, and free from scandal. Having thus fitted himself for his family, he did about the year 1630, betake himself to a constant and methodical service of God, and it was in this manner.——He being accompanied with most of his family, did himself use to read the common prayers (for he was a deacon) every day at the appointed hours of ten and four, in the parish church which was very near his house, and which he had both repaired and adorned; for it was fallen into a great ruin, by reason of a depopulation of the village before Mr. Farrer bought the manor: and, he did also constantly read the mattins every morning at the hour of six, either in the church, or in an oratory, which was within his own house: and many of the family did there continue with him after the prayers were ended, and there they spent some hours in singing hymns, or anthems, sometimes in the church, and often to an organ in the oratory. And there they sometimes betook themselves to meditate, or to pray privately, or to read a part of the New Testament to themselves, or to continue their praying or reading the psalms: and, in case the psalms were not always read in the day, then Mr. Farrer, and others of the congregation, did at night, at the ring of a watch-bell, repair to the church or oratory, and there betake themselves to

prayers, and lauding God, and reading the psalms that had not been read in the day; and, when these, or any part of the congregation grew weary, or faint, the watch-bell was rung, sometimes before, and sometimes after midnight: and then another part of the family rose, and maintained the watch, sometimes by praying, or singing lauds to God, or reading the psalms: and when after some hours they also grew weary or faint, they rung the watch-bell, and were also relieved by some of the former, or by a new part of the society, which continued their devotions, (as hath been mentioned) until morning.——And it is to be noted, that in this continued serving of God, the psalter, or whole book of psalms, was in every four and twenty hours, sung or read over, from the first to the last verse: and, this was done as constantly, as the sun runs his circle every day about the world, and then begins again the same instant that it ended.

Thus did Mr. Farrer, and his happy family, serve God day and night: thus did they always behave themselves, as in his presence. And, they did always eat and drink by the strictest rules of temperance; eat and drink so, as to be ready to rise at midnight, or at the call of a watch-bell, and perform their devotions to God.——And it is fit to tell the reader, that many of the clergy that were more inclined to practical piety, and devotion, than to doubtful and needless disputations, did often come to Gidden-hall, and make themselves a part of that happy society, and stay a week or more, and then join with Mr. Farrer, and the family in these devotions, and assist and ease him or them in their watch by night; and these various devotions had never less than two of the domestic family in the night; and the watch was always kept in the church

church or chapel, unless in extreme cold winter nights, and then it was maintained in a parlour which had a fire in it; and the parlour was fitted for that purpose; and this course of piety, and great liberality to his poor neighbours, Mr. Farrer maintained till his death, which was in the year 1639.

Mr. Farrer's, and Mr. Herbert's devout lives, were both so noted, that the general report of their sanctity, gave them occasion to renew that slight acquaintance which was begun at their being contemporaries in Cambridge; and this new holy friendship was long maintained without any interview, but only by loving and endearing letters. And, one testimony of their friendship, and pious designs may appear by Mr. Farrer's commending the Considerations of John Valdesso (a book which he had met with in his travels, and translated out of Spanish into English) to be examined and censured by Mr. Herbert before it was made public; which excellent book Mr. Herbert did read, and return back with many marginal notes, as they be now printed with it: and with them, Mr. Herbert's affectionate letter to Mr. Farrer.

This John Valdesso was a Spaniard, and was for his learning and virtue much valued and loved by the great emperor Charles the fifth, whom Valdesso had followed as a cavalier all the time of his long and dangerous wars; and when Valdesso grew old, and grew weary both of war and the world, he took his fair opportunity to declare to the emperor, that his resolution was to decline his majesty's service, and betake himself to a quiet and contemplative life, because there ought to be a vacancy of time betwixt fighting and dying.——The emperor had himself, for the same, or other like reasons, put on the same resolution: but, God and himself did, till then only know them; and he did

therefore desire Valdesso to consider well of what he had said, and to keep his purpose within his own breast, till they two might have a second opportunity of a friendly discourse: which Valdesso promised to do.

In the mean time, the emperor appoints privately a day for him and Valdesso to meet again, and, after a pious and free discourse they both agreed on a certain day to receive the blessed sacrament publicly: and, appointed an eloquent and devout friar, to preach a sermon of contempt of the world, and of the happiness and benefit of a quiet and contemplative life; which the friar did most affectionately. ——After which sermon, the emperor took occasion to declare openly, "That the preacher had begot in him a resolution to lay down his dignities, and to forsake the world, and betake himself to a monastical life." And, he pretended, he had persuaded John Valdesso to do the like; but this is most certain, that after the emperor had called his son Philip out of England, and resigned to him all his kingdoms, that then the emperor, and John Valdesso did perform their resolutions.

This account of John Valdesso I received from a friend, that had it from the mouth of Mr. Farrer: And, the reader may note, that in this retirement, John Valdesso writ his 110 considerations, and many other treatises of worth, which want a second Mr. Farrer to procure, and translate them.

After this account of Mr. Farrer, and John Valdesso, I proceed to my account of Mr. Herbert, and Mr. Duncon, who, according to his promise, returned from the Bath the fifth day, and then found Mr. Herbert much weaker than he left him: and therefore the discourse could not be long; but at Mr. Duncon's parting with him, Mr. Herbert spoke to this purpose——"Sir, I pray give my brother Farrer

Farrer an account of the decaying condition of my body, and tell him, I beg him to continue his daily prayers for me: and, let him know, that I have considered, That God only is what he would be; and, that I am by his grace become now so like him, as to be pleased with what pleaseth him; and tell him, that I do not repine but am pleased with my want of health; and tell him, my heart is fixed on that place where true joy is only to be found, and, that I long to be there, and do wait for my appointed change with hope and patience." Having said this, he did with so sweet a humility as seemed to exalt him, bow down to Mr. Duncon, and with a thoughtful and contented look, say to him—— "Sir, I pray deliver this little book to my dear brother Farrer, and tell him, he shall find in it a picture of the many spiritual conflicts that have past betwixt God and my soul, before I could subject mine to the will of Jesus my master; in whose service I have now found perfect freedom: desire him to read it; and then, if he can think it may turn to the advantage of any dejected poor soul, let it be made public: if not, let him burn it: for, I and it are less than the least of God's mercies." ——Thus meanly did this humble man think of this excellent book, which now bears the name of The TEMPLE: or, Sacred Poems, and Private Ejaculations; of which, Mr. Farrer would say, "There was in it the picture of a divine soul in every page; and, that the whole book was such a harmony of holy passions, as would enrich the world with pleasure and piety." And, it appears to have done so: for there have been more than twenty thousand of them sold since the first impression.

And this ought to be noted, that when Mr. Farrer sent this book to Cambridge to be licensed for the press,

press, the vice-chancellor would by no means allow the two so much noted verses,

> Religion stands a tip-toe in our land,
> Ready to pass[5] to the American strand,

to be printed; and Mr. Farrer would by no means allow the book to be printed, and want them: But after some time, and some arguments, for and against their being made public, the vice-chancellor said, "I knew Mr. Herbert well, and know that he had

[5] *Ready to pass.*] "Now, I beseech you, let me know what your opinion is of our English plantations in the New World. Heretofore I have wondered in my thoughts at the providence of God concerning that world, not discovered till this old world of ours is almost at an end; and then no footsteps found of the knowledge of the true God, much less of Christ. And then considering our English plantations of late, and the opinion of *many grave Divines concerning the Gospel's fleeting westward,* sometimes I have had such thoughts, why may not that be the place of New Jerusalem? But you have handsomely and fully cleared me from such odd conceits. But what? I pray, shall our English there degenerate and join themselves with Gog and Magog. We have heard lately divers ways, that our people there have no hope of the conversion of the natives. And the very week after I received your last letter, I saw a letter written from New England, discoursing of an impossibility of subsisting there; and seems to prefer the confession of God's truth in any condition here in Old England, rather than run over to enjoy their liberty there: yea, and that the Gospel is likely to be more dear in New England than in Old: and lastly, unless they be exceeding careful, and God wonderfully merciful, they are like to lose that life and zeal for God and his truth in New England, which they enjoyed in Old; as whereof they have already woeful experience, and many there feel it to their smart." Letter of Dr. W. Twisse to Joseph Mede, dated March 2, 1634. Mede's *Works*. p. 799.

Barnabas Oley, in his Life of Herbert, referring to the same lines, says, "I pray God he may prove a true prophet *for poor America, not against poor England.*"

many

many heavenly speculations, and was a divine poet, but, I hope the world will not take him to be an inspired prophet, and therefore I licence the whole book;" So that it came to be printed, without the diminution or addition of a syllable, since it was delivered into the hands of Mr. Duncon, save only, that Mr. Farrer hath added that excellent preface that is printed before it.

At the time of Mr. Duncon's leaving Mr. Herbert, (which was about three weeks before his death) his old and dear friend Mr. Woodnot came from London to Bemerton, and never left him, till he had seen him draw his last breath, and closed his eyes on his death-bed. In this time of his decay, he was often visited and prayed for by all the clergy that lived near to him, especially by his friends the bishop and prebends of the cathedral church in Salisbury; but by none more devoutly than his wife, his three nieces (then a part of his family) and Mr. Woodnot, who were the sad witnesses of his daily decay; to whom he would often speak to this purpose.——"I now look back upon the pleasures of my life past, and see the content I have taken in beauty, in wit, in music, and pleasant conversation, are now all past by me, like a dream, or as a shadow that returns not, and are now all become dead to me, or I to them; and I see that as my father and generation hath done before me, so I also shall now suddenly (with Job) *make my bed also in the dark;* and, I praise God I am prepared for it; and I praise him, that I am not to learn patience, now I stand in such need of it; and, that I have practised mortification, and endeavoured to die daily, that I might not die eternally; and, my hope is, that I shall shortly leave this valley of tears, and be free from all fevers and pain: and, which will be a more happy condition, I shall be free from sin, and all the

the temptations and anxieties that attend it; and this being past, I shall dwell in the new Jerusalem, dwell there with men made perfect; dwell, where these eyes shall see my master and Saviour Jesus; and, with him see my dear mother, and all my relations and friends.——But I must die, or not come to that happy place: And, this is my content, that I am going daily towards it; and, that every day which I have lived hath taken a part of my appointed time from me; and, that I shall live the less time, for having lived this, and the day past." ——These, and the like expressions, which he uttered often, may be said to be his enjoyment of heaven, before he enjoyed it.——The Sunday before his death, he rose suddenly from his bed or couch, called for one of his instruments, took it into his hand, and said——

My God, my God,
My music shall find thee,
And every string
Shall have his attribute to sing.

And having tuned it, he played and sung:

The Sundays of mans life,
Threaded together on time's string,
Make bracelets, to adorn the wife
Of the eternal glorious king:
On Sundays, heaven's door stands ope;
Blessings are plentiful and rife,
More plentiful than hope.

Thus he sung on earth such hymns and anthems as the angels and he, and Mr. Farrer, now sing in heaven.

Thus

Thus he continued meditating and praying, and rejoicing, till the day of his death; and on that day, said to Mr. Woodnot, "My dear friend, I am sorry I have nothing to present to my merciful God but sin and misery; but the first is pardoned: and a few hours will now put a period to the latter; for I shall suddenly go hence and be no more seen." Upon which expression, Mr. Woodnot took occasion to remember him of the re-edifying Layton church, and his many acts of mercy; to which he made answer, saying, "They be good works, if they be sprinkled with the blood of Christ, and not otherwise." After this discourse he became more restless, and his soul seemed to be weary of her earthly tabernacle; and this uneasiness became so visible, that his wife, his three nieces, and Mr. Woodnot, stood constantly about his bed, beholding him with sorrow, and an unwillingness to lose the sight of him whom they could not hope to see much longer.——As they stood thus beholding him, his wife observed him to breath faintly, and with much trouble; and observed him to fall into a sudden agony; which so surprized her, that she fell into a sudden passion, and required of him to know, "how he did?" to which his answer was, "That he had past a conflict with his last enemy, and had overcome him, by the merits of his master Jesus." After which answer, he looked up, and saw his wife and nieces weeping to an extremity, and charged them, "If they loved him, to withdraw into the next room, and there pray every one alone for him, for nothing but their lamentations could make his death uncomfortable." To which request, their sighs and tears would not suffer them to make any reply: but they yielded him a sad obedience, leaving only with him Mr. Woodnot, and Mr. Bostock.

tock. Immediately after they had left him, he said to Mr. Bostock, "Pray sir open that door, then look into that cabinet, in which you may easily find my last will, and give it into my hand;" which being done Mr. Herbert delivered it into the hand of Mr. Woodnot, and said, "My old friend, I here deliver you my last will, in which you will find that I have made you my sole executor for the good of my wife and nieces; and I desire you to shew kindness to them, as they shall need it. I do not desire you to be just; for, I know you will be so for your own sake; but, I charge you, by the religion of our friendship, to be careful of them." And having obtained Mr. Woodnot's promise to be so; he said, "I am now ready to die." After which words he said, "Lord, forsake me not now my strength faileth me: but grant me mercy for the merits of my Jesus; and now Lord, Lord now receive my soul." And with those words he breathed forth his divine soul, without any apparent disturbance: Mr. Woodnot, and Mr. Bostock, attending his last breath, and closing his eyes.

Thus he lived, and thus he died like a saint, unspotted of the world, full of alms-deeds, full of humility, and all the examples of a virtuous life; which I cannot conclude better, than with this borrowed observation:

——All must to their cold graves;
But, the religious actions of the just,
Smell sweet in death, and blossom in the dust.

Mr. George Herbert's have done so to this, and will doubtless do so to succeeding generations.—— I have but this to say more of him: that if Andrew Melvin died before him, then George Herbert died

died without an enemy.——I wish (if God shall be so pleased) that I may be so happy as to die like him.

Iz. Wa.

There is a debt justly due to the memory of Mr. Herbert's virtuous wife; a part of which I will endeavour to pay, by a very short account of the remainder of her life, which shall follow.

She continued his disconsolate widow, about six years, bemoaning herself, and complaining, "that she had lost the delight of her eyes," but more "that she had lost the spiritual guide for her poor soul;" and would often say, "O that I had like holy Mary, the mother of Jesus, treasured up all his sayings in my heart: but since I have not been able to do that, I will labour to live like him, that where he now is, I may be also." And she would often say (as the prophet David for his son Absalom) *O that I had died for him!* Thus she continued mourning, till time and conversation had so moderated her sorrows, that she became the happy wife of sir Robert Cook of Highnam in the county of Gloucester knight: and though he put a high value on the excellent accomplishments of her mind and body; and was so like Mr. Herbert, as not to govern like a master, but as an affectionate husband; yet, she would even to him often take occasion to mention the name of Mr. George Herbert, and say, "That name must live in her memory, till she put off mortality."——By sir Robert, she had only one child, a daughter, whose parts and plentiful estate make her happy in this world, and her well using of them, gives a fair testimony, that she will be so in that which is to come.

Mrs. Herbert was the wife of sir Robert eight years, and lived his widow about fifteen; all which time

time she took a pleasure in mentioning, and commending the excellencies of Mr. George Herbert. She died in the year 1663, and lies buried at Highnam: Mr. Herbert in his own church, under the altar, and covered with a grave-stone without any inscription.

This lady Cook, had preserved many of Mr. Herbert's private writings, which she intended to make public; but they, and Highnam house, were burnt together, by the late rebels, and so lost to posterity.

J. W.

LETTERS *written by Mr.* GEORGE HERBERT, *at his being in Cambridge: with others to his Mother, the Lady* MAGDALEN HERBERT, *written by* JOHN DONNE, *afterwards Dean of St. Paul's.*

MR. GEORGE HERBERT *to* N. F. *the Translator of Valdesso.*

My dear and deserving brother, your Valdesso I now return with many thanks, and some notes, in which perhaps you will discover some care, which I forbear not in the midst of my griefs; first for your sake; because, I would do nothing negligently that you commit unto me; secondly for the author's sake, whom I conceive to have been a true servant of God; and to such, and all that is theirs, I owe diligence; thirdly for the church's sake, to whom by printing it, I would have you consecrate it. You owe the church a debt, and God hath put this into your hands (as he sent the fish with money to St. Peter) to discharge it: happily also with this (as his thoughts are fruitful) intending the honour of his servant the author, who being obscured

in

in his own country, he would have to flourish in this land of light, and region of the Gospel, among his chosen. It is true, there are some things which I like not in him, as my fragments will express, when you read them; nevertheless, I wish you by all means to publish it; for these three eminent things observable therein: first, that God in the midst of popery should open the eyes of one to understand and express so clearly, and excellently the intent of the Gospel in the acceptation of Christ's righteousness: (as he sheweth through all his considerations,) a thing strangely buried, and darkened by the adversaries, and their great stumbling block. Secondly, the great honour and reverence which he every where bears towards our dear master and lord; concluding every consideration almost with his holy name, and setting his merit forth so piously; for which I do so love him, that were there nothing else, I would print it, that with it the honour of my lord might be published. Thirdly, the many pious rules of ordering our life, about mortification, and observation of God's kingdom within us, and the working thereof; of which he was a very diligent observer. These three things are very eminent in the author, and overweigh the defects (as I conceive) towards the publishing thereof.

From his Parsonage of Bemerton, near Salisbury, Sept. 29, 1632.

To SIR J. D.

SIR,

Though I had the best wit in the world, yet it would easily tire me, to find out variety of thanks for the diversity of your favours, if I sought to do so; but, I profess it not: and therefore let it be sufficient for me, that the same heart, which you have won long since, is still true to you, and hath nothing else to answer your infinite kindnesses, but a constancy of obedience; only hereafter I will take heed how I propose my desires unto you, since I find you so willing to yield to my requests; for, since your favours come on horse-back, there is reason, that my desires should go on foot: neither do I make any question, but that you have performed your kindness to the full, and that the horse is every way fit for me, and I will strive to imitate the completeness of your love, with being in some proportion, and after my manner,

Your most obedient Servant,

GEORGE HERBERT.

For my dear sick Sister.

MOST DEAR SISTER,

Think not my silence forgetfulness; or, that my love is as dumb as my papers; though businesses may stop my hand, yet my heart, a much better

member, is always with you: and which is more, with our good and gracious God, incessantly begging some ease of your pains, with that earnestness, that becomes your griefs, and my love. God who knows and sees this writing, knows also that my soliciting him has been much, and my tears many for you; judge me then by those waters, and not by my ink, and then you shall justly value

Your most truly,

most heartily,

affectionate brother,

and servant,

GEORGE HERBERT.

Decem. 6, 1620.
Trin. Coll.

SIR,

I dare no longer be silent, least while I think I am modest, I wrong both myself, and also the confidence my friends have in me; wherefore I will open my case unto you, which I think deserves the reading at the least; and it is this, I want books extreamly. You know sir, how I am now setting foot into divinity, to lay the platform of my future life, and shall I then be fain always to borrow books, and build on another's foundation? what tradesman is there who will set up without his tools? Pardon my boldness sir, it is a most serious case, nor can I write coldly in that, wherein consisteth the making good of my former education, of obeying that spirit which hath guided me hitherto, and of

of atchieving my (I dare say) holy ends. This also is aggravated, in that I apprehend what my friends would have been forward to say, if I had taken ill courses "Follow your book, and you shall want nothing." You know sir, it is their ordinary speech, and now let them make it good; for since I hope I have not deceived their expectation, let not them deceive mine. But perhaps they will say, "You are sickly, you must not study too hard": it is true (God knows) I am weak, yet not so but that every day I may step one step towards my journey's end; and I love my friends so well, as that if all things proved not well, I had rather the fault should lie on me, than on them. But they will object again, "What becomes of your annuity?" sir, if there be any truth in me, I find it little enough to keep me in health. You know I was sick last vacation, neither am I yet recovered, so that I am fain ever and anon, to buy somewhat tending towards my health, for infirmities are both painful and costly. Now this Lent I am forbid utterly to eat any fish, so that I am fain to diet in my chamber at mine own cost; for in our public halls, you know, is nothing but fish and whit-meats: out of Lent also twice a week, on Fridays and Saturdays, I must do so, which yet sometimes I fast. Sometimes also I ride to Newmarket, and there lie a day or two for fresh air; all which tend to avoiding of costlier matters, if I should fall absolutely sick. I protest and vow, I even study thrift, and yet I am scarce able with much ado to make one half year's allowance, shake hands with the other: and yet if a book of four or five shillings, come in my way, I buy it, though I fast for it; yea, sometimes of ten shillings. But alas sir, what is that to those infinite volumes of divinity, which yet every day swell, and grow bigger. Noble sir,

pardon

pardon my boldness, and consider but these three things. First, the bulk of divinity. Secondly, the time when I desire this (which is now, when I must lay the foundation of my whole life.) Thirdly, what I desire, and to what end, not vain pleasures, nor to a vain end. If then, sir, there be any course, either by engaging my future annuity, or any other way, I desire you, sir, to be my mediator to them in my behalf.

Now I write to you sir, because to you I have ever opened my heart; and have reason, by the patents of your perpetual favour to do so still, for I am sure you love

March 18, 1617. Your faithfullest servant,

GEORGE HERBERT.

SIR,

This week hath loaded me with your favours. I wish I could have come in person to thank you, but it is not possible: presently after Michaelmas I am to make an oration to the whole University of an hour long in Latin; and my Lincoln journey hath set me much behind hand. Neither can I so much as go to Buggden, and deliver your letter, yet have I sent it thither by a faithful messenger this day. I beseech you, sir, and my dear mother and sister to pardon me, for my Cambridge necessities are stronger to tie me here, than yours to London. If I could possibly have come, none should have done my message to sir E. Nethersole (for me) he and I are ancient acquaintance, and I have a strong opinion of him, that it

he can do me a courtesy, he will of himself; yet your appearing in it affects me strangely. I have sent you here inclosed a letter from our master in my behalf, which if you can send to sir Francis before his departure, it will do well, for it expresseth the Universities inclination to me; yet if you cannot send it with much convenience, it is no matter, for the gentleman needs no incitation to love me.

The orator's place (that you may understand what it is) is the finest place in the University, though not the gainfullest; yet that will be about 30l. per an., but the commodiousness is beyond the revenue; for the orator writes all the University letters, makes all the orations, be it to king, prince, or whatever comes to the University. To require these pains, he takes place next the doctors, is at all their assemblies and meetings, and sits above the proctors, is regent or non-regent at his pleasure, and such like gaynesses, which will please a young man well.

I long to hear from sir Francis. I pray sir send the letter you receive from him to me as soon as you can, that I may work the heads to my purpose. I hope I shall get this place without all your London helps, of which I am very proud; not but that I joy in your favours, but that you may see, that if all fail, yet I am able to stand on mine own legs. Noble sir, I thank you for your infinite favours. I fear only that I have omitted some fitting circumstance, yet you will pardon my haste, which is very great, though never so, but that I have both time and work to be

Your extreme servant,

GEORGE HERBERT.

SIR,

SIR,

I have received the things you sent me, safe; and now the only thing I long for, is to hear of my dear sick sister; first, how her health fares, next, whether my peace be yet made with her concerning my unkind departure. Can I be so happy, as to hear of both these that they succeed well? Is it not too much for me? good sir, make it plain to her, that I loved her even in my departure, in looking to her son, and my charge. I suppose she is not disposed to spend her eye-sight on a piece of paper, or else I had wrote to her; when I shall understand that a letter will be seasonable, my pen is ready. Concerning the drama's place all goes well yet; the next Friday it is tried, and accordingly you shall hear. I have forty businesses in my hands; your courtesy will pardon the haste of

Your humble servant,

Jan. 10. 1629.
From Cam.

GEORGE HERBERT.

SIR,

I understand by sir Francis Nethersol's letter, that he fears I have not fully resolved of the matter, since this place being civil may divert me too much from divinity, at which, not without cause he thinks I aim. But, I have wrote him back, that this dignity, hath no such earthiness in it, but it may very well be joined with heaven; or if it had to others, yet to me it should not, for ought

 I yet

I yet knew: and therefore I desire him to send me a direct answer in his next letter. I pray sir, therefore, cause this inclosed to be carried to his brother's house of his own name (as I think) at the sign of the Pedler and the Pack on London-bridge, for there he assigns me. I cannot yet find leisure to write to my lord, or sir Benjamin Ruddyard; but I hope I shall shortly. Though for the reckoning of your favours I shall never find time and paper enough, yet I am

Your readiest servant,

Octob. 6. 1619.
Trin. Coll.

GEORGE HERBERT.

I remember my most humble duty to my mother, who cannot think me lazy, since I rode 200 mile to see a sister, in a way I knew not, in the midst of much business, and all in a fortnight, not long since.

To the truly noble SIR J. D.

SIR,

I understand by a letter from my brother Henry, that he hath bought a parcel of books for me, and that they are coming over. Now though they have hitherto travelled upon your charge, yet if my sister were acquainted that they are ready, I dare say she would make good her promise of taking five or six pound upon her, which she hath hitherto deferred to do, not of herself, but upon the want of those books which were not to be got in

in England. For that which surmounts, though your noble disposition is infinitely free, yet I had rather fly to my old ward, that if any course could be taken of doubling my annuity now, upon condition that I should surcease from all title to it after I entered into a benefice, I should be most glad to entertain it, and both pry for the surplusage of these books, and for ever after cease my clamorous and greedy bookish requests. It is high time now that I should be no more a burden to you, since I can never answer what I have already received, for your favours are so ancient, that they prevent my memory, and yet still grow upon

Your humblest servant,

GEORGE HERBERT.

I remember my most humble duty to my mother. I have wrote to my dear sick sister this week already, and therefore now I hope may be excused.

I pray sir, pardon my boldness of inclosing my brother's letter in your's, for it was because I know your lodging, but not his.

To the worthyest Lady, MRS. MAGDALEN HERBERT.

MADAM,

Every excuse hath in it somewhat of accusation, and since I am innocent, and yet must excuse, how shall I do for that part of accusing? by my troth,

troth; as desperate and perplexed men grow fond thence hold; so must I take the boldness of accusing you, who would draw so dark a curtain betwixt me and your purposes, as that I had no glimmering, neither of your goings, nor the way which my letters might haunt. Yet, I have given this licence to travel, but I know not whither, nor if. It is therefore rather a pinnace to discover: and the entire colony of letters, of hundreds and fifties, must follow; whose employment is more honourable, than that which our state meditates to Virginia, because you are worthier than all that country, of which that is a wretched theme for you have a better treasure, and a harmlessness. If this sound like a flattery, tear it out. I am to my letters as rigid a puritane, as Cæsar was to his wife. I can as yet endure a suspitious and misinterpretable word as a fault; but remember that nothing is flattery which the speaker believes; and of the grossest flatteries there is this good use, that they tell us what we should be. But, madam, you are beyond instruction, and therefore there can belong to you only praise; of which though you be no good hearer, yet allow all my letters leave to have in them one part of it, which is thankfulness towards you.

Your unworthiest servant,

Except your excepting

have mended him.

JOHN DONNE.

Micham,
July 11,
1607.

To

To the worthiest Lady, Mrs. MAGDALEN HERBERT.

MADAM,

This is my second letter, in which though I cannot tell you what is good, yet this is the worst, that I must be a great part of it; yet to me that is recompensed, because you must be mingled. After I knew you were gone (for I must, little less than sacrilegiously tell you, I knew not you would go) I sent my first letter, like a Tevis of Dampton, to seek adventures. This day I came to town, and to the best part of it, your house; for your memory, is a state cloth and presence: which I reverence, though you be away; though I need not seek that there which I have about me within me. There, though I found my accusation, yet any thing to which your hand is, is a pardon; yet I would not burn my first letter, because as in great destiny no small passage can be omitted or frustrated, so in my resolution of writing almost [illegible] you. I could have no link of the chain broke by mine sloth because my letters interpret one another, and because only their number can give them weight. If I had your commission and instructions to do you the service of a legier ambassador here, I could say something of the countess of Devon: of the state, and such things. But since to you, who are not only a world alone, but the monarchy of the world yourself, nothing can be added, especially by me: I will sustain myself with the honour of being

Your servant extraordinary,

January,
1607.

And without place,

JOHN DONNE.

To

To the worthiest Lady,

MRS. MAGDALEN HERBERT.

MADAM,

As we must die before we can have full glory and happiness, so before I can have this degree of it, as to see you by a letter, I must almost die, that is, come to London, to plaguy London; a place full of danger, and vanity, and vice, though the court be gone. And such it will be, till your return redeem it. Not that the greatest virtue in the world, which is you, can be such a marshal, as to defeat, or disperse all the vice of this place; but as higher bodies remove, or contract themselves when better come, so at your return we shall have one door open to innocence. Yet, madam, you are not such an Ireland, as produceth neither ill, nor good; no spiders, nor nightingales, which is a rare degree of perfection; but you have found and practised that experiment, that even nature, out of her detesting of emptiness, if we will make that our work, to remove bad, will fill us with good things. To abstain from it, was therefore but the childhood, and minority of your soul, which had been long exercised since, in your nonage active part, of doing good. Of which since I have been a witness and subject, not to tell you sometimes, that by your influence and example I have attained to such a step of goodness, as to be thankful, were both to accuse your power and judgment of impotency and infirmity.

your ladyship's in all services,

August 2. 1607. JOHN DONNE.

On

On Mr. George Herbert's *Book, intitled The Temple of Sacred Poems, sent to a Gentlewoman.*

Know you fair, on what you look?
Divinest love lies in this book:
Expecting fire from your eyes,
To kindle this his sacrifice.
When your hands untie these strings,
Think you've an angel by the wings,
One that gladly will be nigh,
To wait upon each morning sigh;
To flutter in the balmy air,
Of your well perfumed prayer.
These white plumes of his he'll lend you,
Which every day to heaven will send you,
To take acquaintance of the sphere,
And all the smooth fac'd kindered there.
And though Herbert's name do owe
These devotions, fairest; know
That while I lay them on the shrine
Of your white hand, they are mine.

To the Right Honourable the Lady Anne, *Countess of* Pembroke *and* Montague, *at Court.*

MADAM,

What a trouble hath your goodness brought on you, by admitting our poor services? Now they creep in a vessel of Metheglin, and still they will

be presenting or wishing to see if at length they may find out something not unworthy of those hands at which they aim. In the mean time a priest's blessing, though it be none of the courtstile, yet doubtless madam, can do you no hurt. Wherefore the Lord make good the blessing of your mother upon you, and cause all her wishes, diligence, prayers and tears, to bud, blow and bear fruit in your soul, to his glory, your own good, and the great joy of

Madam,

Dec. 10. 1631. Your most faithful servant
Bemerton. in Christ Jesu,

Madam, your poor
colony of servants
present their hum
ble duties.

GEORGE HERBERT.

THE END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.

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